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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNICATIVE SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES: KOREA AND CANADA

by

SOO-HYANG CHOI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1990

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Abstract

The study was concerned with the child's socialization processes in Korea and Canada, with a particular attention paid to the child's daily communicative experiences with the mothers. The main objectives were to describe the mother's culture-specific communicative patterns, and to determine if any differentiated influences were operating on the child's psychosocial development.

Two mother-child dyads were drawn from each cultural group. 15 sessions of 30 minute video-taping occurred in their home. The data were treated to a communicative analysis in which 3 aspects of the mother's utterances were determined: thematic progress, affecting styles, and semantic contents.

The communicative pattern of each group was interpreted in terms of the mother's different perceptions of the child's psychosocial reality. Korean mothers viewed the children's psychosocial reality as being not yet fully functional, and showed assisting patterns of communication. Canadian mothers emphasized an autonomous psychosocial reality of their children, and posed themselves as communicative colleagues of their children.

The study concluded with an appeal for a psychosocial model of child's communicative socialization processes.

Acknowledgement

This work is imbued with an immeasurable amount of gratitude owed to a variety of people. The seven years of long journey have been full of care, patience, support, and sharing of those without whom I now know I could never have completed this work. The most memorable benefactors are my supervisor, Dr. B. Bain and his wife, Dr. A. Yu. In every aspect, they have endured with me down the road, with its long hours of laboring, to this moment of fruition. They have all the rights to claim the credit for this joyful culmination.

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Most deserving of thanks are the mothers and the children who participated in the research. Their unselfish generosity not only made the research itself possible, but also provided me with an oppprtunity to register new unsolved problems. Future studies that I will be concerned with will remember those little fellows and their ever-caring guardians as the major source of inspiration.

My indebtedness of gratitude would never be balanced off without paying an ultimate due to my family. My sisters and brother have been more than willing to take care of various kinds of odds and ends for me while I have been away from home, and I have never seen them grow weary in this priceless service and cheerful support. They are cordially invited to relish the sweet result of this team work. Lastly, I owe my parents my whole life, not to mention the completion of this study. Every hour and minute of my growth to this very moment are shamelessly wrinkled in their ever-so gentle and comforting face. I dedicate with all my heart this small accomplishment to their selflessly devoted authorship of my life.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the Study

It goes without saying that a child does not grow by himself/herself. A child's developmental process involves a primary social communicative interaction with adult members of the society. The basic assumption of this dissertation is that the essence of this socialization process of the child can be best illustrated through examining the sociogenetic process of the child's **psychosocial** relations with others. While previous research has erred by not recognizing the psychosocial dynamics between mother and child, it is argued that a formulation of certain communicative patterns between the mother and the child is necessarily underlaid by the psychosocial dynamics of the two. It is viewed that this psychosocial identity of the communicative interaction should be an integral part of the studies of mother-child communicative socialization. The goal of this thesis is to pursue a balanced and contemporary understanding of mother-child dynamics underlying the mother's communicative patterns in different cultural groups.

It is an overdue argument that child development, social interaction, and the socialization process are inextricably interrelated and inseparable from one another. Child development cannot be adquately conceptualized as being other than a socialization process maintained through the child's social interaction with adults, and governed by the specific socio-cultural context (Mead, 1934; Riegel, 1976, 1978; Bain, 1983). This sociogenetic thesis of child development, however, has not been sufficiently recognized in studies of child development.

For a long time, biological mechanisms and behavioral dispositions have been assumed to constitute the basis of child development. For those who have been concerned with the child's social interaction, the focus has been to investigate its effects on the child's cognitive or linguisitic development, but not on the general socialization process. Language, cognition, mother-child interaction, and socialization have been distinguished by their "own" functions, issues, and methodological procedures, and studied separately. The socialization effects embedded in the child's linguistic and cognitive development and in the child's social interaction have long gone unnoticed.

The area of child language socialization is a rare exception to this fragmentary view of child development (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). It integrates the two subjects, communication and socialization, and brings to focus the socialization process embedded in the child's communicative experiences with a mother. As a result, "mother-child interaction" is given a new definition as a process through which the child comes to learn how to negotiate with and interpret the social environment. The child's socialization process is thus framed in a new perspective, emphasizing the communicative experiences with the mother as the major contextual factor.

Although the language socialization approach is a genuine advancement, especially regarding socialization, communication, and child development, it presents only a part of the picture. It pays insufficient attention to the psychosocial mechanisms underlying diverse language use. In the language socialization approach, socialization process has been identified with specific language uses in daily life, and researchers have documented various communicative features, such as daily interactional routines, narrative skills, or verbal play, to name a few (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). But the psychosocial processes underlying these communications have been routinely downplayed.

Given that the mother-child interaction is a socio-cultural process constrained by various factors in a given socio-cultural context, concern with the overt patterns and organizations can reveal the socio-cultural properties governing the child's socialization process. But the organizations themselves, I suggest, are not what underlies the child's socialization process. They are merely overt manifestations of the underlying process. Like any other form of social behavior, mother-child communication is a psychosocial phenomenon representing the way the mother and the child perceive and deal with each other. A **topography** of the psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child is a necessary component for a formulation of their communicative pattern.[1] Without the knowledge of this underlying psychosocial configuration, the overt communicative patterns reveal little about the socialization process, because child socialization is a psychosocial process which necessarily involves a certain psychological formation by the child about his/her social world.

---

[1] Unlike Kurt Lewin's (1936) notion of "topology", the psychosocial topography is not concerned with the illustration of external forces or elements constituting the individual's phenomenal self. It rather focuses on the relational maps of the **phenomenal boundaries** of each individual self.

It is imperative to note that to emphasize the importance of the psychological process is not to argue for a return to the "psychologization" of socialization process. Nor is the concept of "psychosocial topography" purely psychological in nature. The focus is on a conceptual formulation that would contain **both** the socio-cultural systems and the child's individual developmental process. Such conceptual formulation is expected to describe how the external socio-cultural context comes to shed influence on the child's individual developmental process, and how the child's developmental process reflects this inextricable relation to the overall socio-cultural systems. Thus, the importance of the child's communicative experiences can be recognized only to the extent that such social experiences provide the child with an initial idea of the prevailing psychosocial patterns of his/her environment. Acquisition of the culture-specific psychosocial topography is regarded as the central part of a child's socialization process.

In accordance with this conceptual focus, the present study examines the communicative socialization processes in different cultures, with special attention paid to the underlying psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child. Choosing Korea and Canada as the two comparative groups, the study intends to describe the culture-specific topography of the psychosocial dynamics of the mother-child communication. In doing so, it does not follow the conventional logico-deductive approach. The present study is characterized by its search process for culture-specific communicative patterns and their corresponding psychosocial correlates. It does not attempt to verify hypotheses, but to generate hypotheses of the culture-specific socialization processes. In short, the present study is an attempt to formulate initial understanding of the socialization processes in Korea and Canada by generating the psychosocial categories representing the mother-child communication in the respective cultures.

B. Premises of the Study

It is assumed that an investigation of cultural similarities and differences in the mother's behavior and child socialization processes will reveal more common themes than will the study of one culture alone. However, cross-cultural approaches sometimes find social class variables to be indicators of the differentiation of the mother's behavior. Abundant empirical data (e.g., Bain & Yu, 1982; Choi, 1985) seem to preclude any arguments against this observation. For example, Choi (1985) studied the mother's speech in Korea and showed that like the upper class Western mothers, the upper class Korean mothers' speech style was characterized by their communicative "responsiveness." It is, however, questionable whether the presence of similar patterns of behavior in different cultural groups can be argued for the equatable socio-cultural meanings of those behaviors in each culture. For instance, it is doubtful whether the "responsive talk" of a upper class Korean mother stems from the same socio-cultural intentions and attitudes as those of her Canadian counterpart. It is even more doubtful that consequenses would be identical. Depending upon the specific cultural and historical contexts, the same behavior can result in different forms and contents of socialization effects, because the contextual factors differently mediate interpretations of mothers' behavior. While it is certainly true that there is some degree of universality, mother's behavior is constrained by local socio-cultural variables. It is these socio-cultural variables of the mother's behavior and socialization processes which the present study aims to investigate.

Secondly, the mother is assumed to be the major caregiver, the primary socializing agent in child development. It is a truism that the child's social experiences involve a wider radius of social networks with other members of the family and the community, and the complexity of child development necessarily reflects the dynamic interrelationship among these various social agents. An equally undeniable fact is, however, that it is the mother who initially "gives core" to the child. The social experience with the mother is distinguished from the other similar experiences in that the former sets the basic direction for the latter. The subsequent social relationships are elaborative processes of this basic framework of social relationship outlined by the mother. Interest of the present study in this formative, initial stage of child socialization process limits the perspective of the study to this primary socialization agent, the mother, to the exclusion of the others.

Thirdly, the notion of child's interaction is understood primarily by its **social** character.[2] It is distinguished from Jean Piaget's[3] understanding of it as a mere contact of the child with the physical aspects of the environment. The child's interaction is assumed to necessarily involve active participation of both the child and his/her social agents. Moreover, it is assumed not to be reducible to the child's independent psychological process. As Lev Vygotsky (1981) viewed, the child's social interaction is an interpsychological process, a conceptual prototype of the child's internalized individual psychological process. It precedes the ontogenesis of the child's psychological functions. It is the contextual reality where the child comes to formulate the "general genetic law of cultural" development (Wertsch, 1985b).

Fourthly, the present study is concerned with the generation of psychosocial categories that will differentiate the mother's communicative patterns and socialization processes in the two cultures. The methodological emphasis is on the description of the generative process of categories, but not on the verification of hypotheses. There are no hypotheses or categories to begin with in which the mothers in the two cultural groups are expected to show differences. It is the intention of this study to generate or develop such systems and discuss their specific socialization effects. Presumably, the categories that will be developed in the study are subject to future verification processes, and the dicussions made in the study are to be confirmed with further elaborated analysis. The present study finds its significance in providing the initial basis for such future endeavors.

C. Summary

The main objective of the present study is to describe how the mothers in Korea and Canada perceive the psychosocial topography or dynamics of the children, and how these perceptions affect their communicative strategies. The underlying assumption is that mother-child communication is basically a socio-cultural phenomenon, and that the communicative psychosocial dynamics would reveal the basic socialization processes of children in both countries.

---

[2] In this dissertation, an interaction is assumed to be a **communicative** interaction.

[3] Major theorists are identified in full names.

The study begins with a critical review of the literature of the mother-child interaction in general. The focus is on pointing out the lack of concern with socio-cultural perspective. Efforts will be also made to demonstrate the intimate relationship between the socio-cultural context and people's communication. Also included is a necessary review of language socialization, its premises and pitfalls.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A. Mother-Child Interaction I: Traditional Approaches

The child's social experience with the mother was traditionally understood as a mother-child **relationship**, with mother leading and child following, not as mother-child interaction. The emphasis on the interactive aspect is a recent development. Lately, the focus has again shifted to the **communicative** features. Mother-child interactions are now being designated as "mother-child communicative interactions." In the present chapter, the literature reviewed gave special attention to the "relationship" and the "interaction" phases of this development. The next chapter will deal with the "communication" phase in detail. In both chapters, a major stress is that there has been insufficient concern with the socio-cultural nature and implications of the child's daily experiences with the mother.

Psychoanalytic theory

It was Sigmund Freud (1940) who is usually credited with noting the developmental significance of the child's relationship with its mother. He wrote that an infant was born with various libidous needs, and that successful gratifications of these needs were the crucial determinants of his/her personality into adulthood. Other psychoanalysts (e.g., Benedek, 1938; Erikson, 1963) also noted that the constantly attained gratification of physiological needs led the child to develop a sense of trust or distrust in his/her environment. Current theorists of mother-child interaction (e.g., Lamb, 1981a, 1981b) also agree on the positive effect of the mother's responsive nursing behavior on the emergence of trust, security, confidence, predictability and reliability in the environment. They believe that it becomes the fundamental basis for a healthy development as well as the negative effects of distrusting relationship.

It is a truism that a child, in his/her early period, is strong on physiological demands, and a caregiver's main responsibility is to attend to these basic needs. As a focus is placed on the child's biological needs, however, the socially constructed interactional dynamic between the mother and child receives relatively little attention. According to the psychoanalytic view, it is basically the child's physiological needs that are assumed to trigger the maternal contact with the child. In principle, once the gratification of needs is attained, there is no more reason for the mother and child to interact, unless there occurs another session of need-arousal. The child's physiological needs unilaterally govern the whole procedure of the establishment of the relationship.

The lack of concern of psychoanalysis with the interactive aspect is not solely due to its adoption of the tension-reduction principle. Psychoanalytic theory places heavy emphasis on notions of affect as the central mechanism of the mother's behavior. For example, in explaining the development of trust, Erik Erikson (1963) noted that trust depended not only on the mother's predictable behavior but also on the mother's "confidence" in her behavior, but there is no specific explanation as to how this confidence is enacted in an interactional situation. Similarly, Winnicott (1971), commenting on the cognitive effect of mother's behavior, stated that a mother played a "role of mirror," but the empirical manifestations of this role of mirror are far from being clear.

It is not denied that the child has a keen sensibility to the emotional state of the caregiver (Campos, 1984; Klinnert, Campos, Sorce, Emde, & Svejda, 1983), nor that the mother-child relationship is coloured by affective mood (Spitz, 1965). Rather, it is that the affective approach to the mother-child interaction is more metaphoric than empirically heuristic. Psychoanlaytic perspectives are unable to unravel the actual ongoing processes behind the affective psychological constructs. The affective terms lack in explanatory power. Descriptions like "mirrored image," "empathy," "love," or "hatred" do not provide precise information on what actually happens during the child's interaction with his/her caregiver.

The reciprocal exchange between the mother and child is largely missed in the psychoanalytic approach. The mother's role is reduced to mere nursing activity. What Jerome Bruner (1983) calls, the "scaffolding function" for the construction of dynamic patterns of social interaction between mother and child is not recognized by the psychoanalysts.

Attachment theory

While the psychoanalytic model views the child's physiological needs as the basic element in framing a mother-child relationship, attachment theory sees the child's predisposed behavioral systems as the underpinnings of the child's tie to a mother. John Bowlby (1969) suggests that the child is born with many preprogrammed behavioral responses, such as suckling, clinging, crying, or smiling, and through the mother's responsive assistance these behaviors become a basis of the mother-child interaction. In this view, the mother's response is assumed to be an essential element for integrating the child's innate behavioral patterns into socially-directed interactive gestures. Recent studies on a micro-level of analysis of the mother-child interaction have provided supportive data for the reciprocal nature of the relationship (Schaffer, 1977). The detailed descriptions of the mother's behavioral coordinations to the child's behavioral initiatives, such as gaze coordination (Stern, 1974), postural coorientation (Collins & Schaffer, 1975), clearly show the dyadic organization of the mother-child interaction (Trevarthen, 1979).

These studies constitute a generally improved understanding of the nature of the mother-child interaction. They bring to attention the fact that an important feature of the interaction is the **interplay** of the child's initial potentials and the mother's responsive attitudes. However, they have neglected an equally important fact that the mother's responses are **socially and culturally** conducted behavior. Socio-cultural context is not an eiphenomenon. It is integral to the mother's lived experience. But in the current studies of the mother-child interaction, the mother's behavior is viewed as an ahistorically sanitized response emitted to the stimulus released from the child. Variations in the mother's behaviors are thought to be only a function of the child's behavioral repertoire.

This S-R type of reciprocity between the mother and child represents the ethologists' view of human behavior (Lorenz, 1935; Tinbergen, 1951). These ethologists are interested in unlearned or instinctive behaviors of animals. They suggest that a great deal of the mother's behavioral repertoires in other species are instinctive responses that are automatically released by specific external stimuli. Likewise, the reactions of the young to their parents are species-specific behaviors that are biologically preprogrammed. According to this view, the reciprocity between the human mother and child is also a result of a series of S-R relations, of which bonds are innately determined by the specific properties of the stimulus from the other party. While rejecting the notion of biologically determined bonding, neo-psychoanalysis (e.g., Bowlby, 1969) suggests that an acquired identification between mother and child better captures the human dynamics.

The consequence of this quasi-mechanical, quasi-ethological S-R perspective is immediately evident. Researchers become less concerned with ecological, socio-cultural variables of mother's behavior. They tend to believe in the universality of the mother's behavior and depreciate the value of mother-child interaction as a social learning ground. These researchers seem unaware that mother and child interaction is a **socialization process** through which the socio-cultural orders are exchanged with the new members of the community. The socio-culture-specific factors governing the daily interactions are *terra ingonita*, and the social functions performed in an interaction are rarely discussed. The current literature of mother-child interaction is in grave need of an orientation adjustment toward a socio-cultural view of child development.

Early social interactionism: the Vygotskian connection

A sociogenetic perspective stipulates that the social interaction between mother and child is the basis of ontogenesis. The perspective is clearly formulated in Vygotsky's "general law."

> Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category and then within the child as an intrapsychological category (Vygotsky, 1981, p. 163).

Vygotsky suggests that social interaction is not a mere transitional process through which the child's inborn psychological properties are organized and coordinated into a mature form, but a fundamental ingredient in the development. Social interaction **is** the very locus of all psychological functions in that the social functions transacted at an interpersonal level are, through internalization, reorganized into inner psychological functions.

Given that social interaction plays such a large role in Vygotsky's writing, it is ironic that he said very little about the nature of social interaction per se. Take the example of "double stimulation." In this procedure, the subject is given a task of sorting wooden blocks and the clues to the solution are introduced stepwise, with each new turn of a block. The gradual introduction of the means of the solution enables a researcher to observe a mental process occurring with an introduction of each aid. But such a method does not help the researcher observe the social and historical vestiges embedded in the behavior under investigation.

This apparent inconsistency in Vygotsky's work has to do with his basic interest in the development of higher mental functions, such as voluntary attention, memory, or consciousness. As Wertsch (1985b) pointed out, "Vygotsky's main concern was with the linkage between interpsychological and intrapsychological functioning" (p. 61). Social interaction was introduced as an indispensible instrument to assume the interpsychological origin of the intrapsychological functioning. His ultimate interest was to see how these interpsychological functions were processed and formulated into intrapsychological functions. Naturally, the formation of the intrapsychological functions became the primary focus of interest, and little attention was paid to the social level of the individuals' interaction with others.

Vygotsky's sociogenesis thesis has contributed to the generation of a plethora of cognition studies in relation to social interaction (Wertsch, 1985a), but no like impetus has been given to the socio-cultural nature of the original process, albeit the due attention to the interactional process itself. Until recent time, his theory of social interaction has remained a hypothetical process that has not been brought to a rigorous empirical examination (Wertsch, 1985b). The socio-cultural nature of child development has been discussed in its internalized cognitive form, but not in its corresponding psychosocial representation. And the interactional organization of specific socio-cultural correlates in child's socialization process has gone unnoticed. The child's social interaction and its socialization effect remain to be recognized.

B. Mother-Child Interaction II: Communicative Approaches

While the significance of the socio-cultural nature of the mother-child interaction is yet to be fully recognized, there has been a notable development in the area of the mother-child interaction; that is, the growing emphasis on the dialogic or communicative aspect of mother-child interaction (Howe, 1981). The new conceptual thrust has gone so far as to to designate the mother-child social interaction a **communicative** interaction (Bullowa, 1979). In these cases, the mother-child interaction is specified in communicative terms. For example, Halliday (1979) noted that the child's prelinguistic interaction with the mother had basic communicative functions, and suggested to refer to the child's "act of meaning" to a "protolanguage." These researchers have uncovered what they see as the most essential medium of the interaction, language.

Unfortunately, the new trend has not lived up to its initial promises. Instead of viewing the communicative interaction as a case of a socialization in which the mother exposes the child to socio-culturally prescribed ways of interacting with people, the communicative interaction is seen as a major educational ground for child's language development (Schmidt, 1973). Communication is treated as a linguistic performance based on the acquistion of communicative techniques, whose development is considered separately from the socio-cultural context.

The following review highlights this predicament in the current studies of mother-child communicative interaction. Two areas of study are recognized as being relevant: "motherese"[4], researach which focuses on linguistic effects of the mother-child communication; and child communication, which is concerned with the technical aspects of the child's communicative development.

Motherese

While the Chomskian linguistic and Piagetian cognitive models of child language development have looked into the child's innate ability as a basis of language learning, motherese researchers (e.g., Newport, 1976; Snow & Ferguson, 1977) have been concerned with the effect of the linguistic **environment**. The motherese hypothesis is that language acquisition **does** depend, to some degree, upon the linguistic input from the environment. Researchers' tasks have been to determine the features of the mother's speech which are positively correlated to the child's language development (Banigan & Mervis, 1988; Bloom, 1988; Mervis & Mervis, 1988; Nelson, Hirsh-Pasek, Jusczyk, & Cassidy, 1989).

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[4] When mothers speak to their young children, their speech differs from their speech with adults. This stylistic variant of mothers' speech is called motherese (Newport, H. Gleitman, & L. Gleitman, 1979).

It has been found that the mother's speech is restricted and concrete in its vocabulary (Hayes & Ahrens, 1988); short, simple and well-formed in its sentences (Brown & Bellugi, 1964); rarely complex or compound in grammatical structure (Snow, 1972). These features have been interpreted as facilitating language learning by quantitatively controlling the amount of linguistic input directed to the child. The mother's speech also assists the child with qualitative aspects of language learning by producing "recast" types of speech, wherein the child's utterances are reformulated in a more grammatically elaborated manner without changing the intended meaning (Cross, 1976; Hoff-Ginsberg, 1985).

While the effects of motherese on the child's language development are still being debated, there has been no equal discussion regarding the socio-cultural variations or implications of the mother's speech. The reported characteristics of motherese are considered universal features as if they would be found in any socio-cultural group. Mother's speech is not recognized as a socio-culture-specific phenomenon. Its importance as a primary means of the child's socialization process is, thus, far from being fully recognized. A few rare studies that have observed socio-cultural variations and the different socialization effects of motherese in different cultures demonstrate that such a **linguistic** approach to the subject is a seriously flawed conception (Ochs, 1988).

Ochs (1982) made it clear that the functions of the mother's speech are not just limited to linguistic lessons to a child. Rather it is a way of responding to situations in a culturally appropriate manner and of transmitting cultural knowledge to the child. Ochs' argument is based on her observation of the Western Samoan mothers. Unlike Western mothers, the Western Samoan mothers do not produce expansions which are a means of assessing the mothers' understanding of what children are expressing. An example of speech expansion is:

C: Mommy apple?

M: Mommy has an apple?

Observing this cultural difference, Ochs looked into the general cultural belief of the Western Samoan mothers. In Western Samoan culture, people are not conceived of as the central control mechanisms that organize and direct their actions. Naturally the intention behind one's behavior is not an issue at all, and the clarification of exact intentions behind a child's utterance is hardly a prime concern of the mothers. Besides, the Western Samoan mothers tended to consider the children's egocentric articulation as not a part of the language. Also their tradition does not expect a high status person to adjust his/her utterances to those of a lower status. The combination of these cultural beliefs and value systems, Ochs argued, functions as a deterrent to the Western Samoan mothers' production of expansion.

Ochs (1988) further noted that even the simplication of the mother's speech, which has been suggested as the most distinctive feature of motherese, was also subject to socio-cultural variation.

> In certain societies more than others, caregivers are expected to make rather dramatic accommodation to young children's cognitive immaturity...In societies where this expectation prevails, such as American white middle-class society, caregivers simplify their speech in addressing small children. In societies where this expectation does not prevail, such as traditional Western Samoan society and Kaluli (Papua New Guinea) society, caregivers do not simplify their speech to the extent characteristic of the American middle class (Ochs, 1988, p. 23).

In fact, Ochs' argument suggests that most of the motherese features that have been discussed in the current literature of motherese are subject to socio-cultural variations.

> It is important to note there that *all societies do not rely on the very same set of language-socializing procedures. Indeed, although prompting a child what to say appears wide spread, expanding children's utterances, using leading questions, announcing activities/events for a child, and using a simplified lexicon and grammar to do so are cross-culturally variable* (Ochs, 1986, p. 6).

An implication of all these arguments is that the mother's speech is greatly constrained by the systems of beliefs and values underlying the mother's social life.

Mother's speech is a linguistic product of cultural expectation concerning appropriate manners of human activities. In other words, the mother-child interaction is basically a socialization process through which the child comes to acquire tacit knowledge of the social order. Language, which is the single most important medium of the mother-child communicative interaction (Bain, 1987), does not retain its neutrality when in use. Socio-cultural information is generally encoded in the organization of converstational discourse, as well as in the formal features, such as phonological and morphosyntactic constructions, the lexicon...etc. (Ochs, 1986; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Bain, Yu, & Choi, 1987)

The mother's speech cannot be viewed simply in terms of its instrumental function for the child's language learning only. It is a means of transmitting culturally significant knowledge to the child. Its functional and formal features all succumb to the socio-cultural influences, and carry within themselves these socio-cultural conditions, which are transmitted to the child through daily interaction. The current motherese studies, which have been heavily oriented to linguistic aspects and impacts of motherese, are in need of recontextualition by a socio-cultural stance.

Child communication

Traditionally, child language development has been studied in its lexicogrammatical aspects. Language development has been seen as a gradual process of appropriating items into the linguistic repertoire according to syntax rules. The main task of researchers has been to collect the child's utterances and to analyze them as they evolve into a more complex grammatical system.

The interest recently has been extended to communicative functions of language, and researchers have come to believe that the acquistion of capacity **to refer** and **to mean** lies at the very heart of language learning. Bruner (1983), for instance, noted that,

> When we say that a child is acquiring language, we must account for another aspect of what is being acquired - that is, its function or communicative intent or "how to get things done with words".... Here the criterion for judging progress in acquisition is not so much well-formedness or sense and reference, but something more like effectiveness (p. 18).

Many theorists see the locus of this communicative function as lying in the child's early social interaction with his/her mother. The early dyadic relationship is viewed as creating a predictable format of interaction that serves as a microcosm for communication. Description of the emerging process of the child's communicative functions through his/her early interaction with the mother thus becomes the main task of researchers of child language development (Bullowa, 1979; Golinkoff, 1983).

Their research has shown that contrary to Piaget's notion of egocentrism, the children, from a very early age, have basic functions of communication. They employ various forms of attention-getting devices to initiate a conversation (Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976; McTear, 1979, 1985); they are capable of maintaining a coherent dialogue by managing appropriate feedback systems (Golinkoff, 1986; Wilcox & Webster, 1980); they maximize the communication by utilizing situation-specific query systems (Anselmi, Tomasello, & Acunzo, 1986; Perner & Leekam, 1986). These studies have provided strong empirical data that the child's communicative competence is far more sophisticated in the early period than Piaget claimed.

What is not recognized in those studies, however, is that these specific communicative skills are not first a verbal expression of semantic or syntactic categories. The studies fail to note that the child's communication is basically a socio-cultural learning process, where the verbal means of expression are adopted as a realization of the child's social interaction with others. Child communication is not a pure linguistic phenomenon where only the linguistic knowledge is counted. It is a cultural event that is initiated and maintained according to specific socio-cultural rules.

In a landmark study, Ervin-Tripp (1977), for example, showed that children's execution of specific communicative attempts was based on their social knowledge of their partner. She observed that the children were able to differentiate the age and rank of the interactant, and changed the type of their request to meet the demands of the situation. For instance, one child differentiated between other 2-year-olds and 3 and 4-year-olds within her nersery school group. She gave no command to the latter group and instead employed only questions. When commands were made to the older children, such polite forms of requests as *please* did not fail to show up. On the whole, there were more imperatives spoken to children than to adults, and practically no negative imperatives to adults. Ervin-Tripp (1977) noted that,

> The evidence suggests that the social basis already exists in early years for the development of more subtle forms of deviousness than children actually

> use, in that they differentiate in speech between imperatives, modified imperatives, embedded imperatives using questions, and need statements. They are sensitive to certain social variables, in particular the age of addressee, and familiarity, task and the probability of compliance (p. 188).

In a study done by Platt (1986), a similar observation was made. Children's use of speech clearly reflected their understanding of social order. The study examined Samoan children's acquistion of deitic verbs, *give*, and *come*. What was found was that the children always directed *give* to the higher persons and *come* to lower persons. The author's interpretation was that these differentiated uses of the children reflected their understanding of the social orders that it was appropriate for small children to ask the adult to give them an item, but not socially acceptable to ask the adult or higher person to come.

Ochs' statement lucidly sums up these observations:

> Language has constructions at all levels of grammar and discourse that signal information concerning how interactants see their own and others' social positions and roles. As children acquire language, they are acquiring knowledge of this vital aspect of social order. Another way of putting this is to say that part of acquiring language is the acquisition of the social meaning of linguistic structures (Ochs, 1986, p. 7).

It is this social meaning of child communication that has been largely missed in the current studies of child communication. The child's communication has been represented as a linguistic performance actualizing linguistic competence at a practical level. Such conception misses the essence of communication, namely the types of social need which trigger a communicative exchange, and the socio-cultural norms which will determine the type of specific communicative act. A communicative interaction is guided and maintained by certain socio-cultural goals. Neglecting this underlying force is to disregard the very reason for which the communication is attempted. To grasp the full significance of child communication necessitates seeing its genesis in a socio-cultural context.

C. Culture, Society, and Language

While the psychologists have yet to attain the conceptual understanding of the inextricable relationship between people's communicative interaction and their socio-cultural reality, the cultural anthropologists and interpretive sociologists have long recognized the socio-cultural nature of human communication. Human communication has been recognized as the most conspicuous manifestation of a given culture and the very locus of all socio-cultural activities. Organizational patterns and prosodic information, for example, are assumed to encode within themselves the socio-cultural messages. Communicative experiences are immediately identified with socio-cultural experiences.

This chapter aims to provide theoretical support for the socio-cultural nature of people's communicative interaction by describing how the conceptual coalition between the people's communication and the socio-cultural systems has been attained in those areas. Also an effort is made to see how the language socialization studies have integrated this new conceptual development.

Anthropological linguistics

Descriptive analysis

The early methodological framework of anthropological linguistics is characterized by descriptive analyses (Gleason, 1961). Believing that a description of the sounds of a particular language was essential for understanding a language and culture, researchers assumed that their main task was to record all of the sounds heard in speech. Anthropologists, Frantz Boas (1929) and Edward Sapir (1921), for instance, endeavored to describe all of the phonetic sounds of the North American Indian languages, eventually preparing vast phonetic transcriptions.

Sapir later noticed that phonetic elements were not sufficient to write down a language in its sound systems, and focused on the phoneme, the phonetically distinct unit of sound, as the basic unit of description. This endeavor produced the useful distinction between "etic" and "emic," general and specific elements in the organization of phonetic clusters. It was soon apparent that phonological description was not the road to a meaningful description of a language and culture, because one cannot describe the phenomenon in terms of primitive elements only. An independent perceptual or conceptual frame is necessary. Bloomfield (1933) thus insisted on the incorporation of the morpheme as the basic unit of analysis. The next main advance was to adopt a minimum unit of meaning, which was then seen as a combination of phonemes.

The early formulations of phonological and morphological descriptions had no separate level of syntax. Both lexical and grammatical terms were viewed as being parallel, rather than hierarchical (Eastman, 1975). Thus, an effort was made to involve an analysis at the syntactic level. Gleason (1961) introduced a concept of "immediate constituents" and demonstrated a break-up of a sentence into its major constituents, which was primarily based on a native speaker's perception of "fundamental cleavage." This emphasis on syntax made it possible to describe a language in its "arrangement."

In sum, descriptive linguistics analyzes a language into phonemes, morphemes, and immediate constituents. The underlying assumption is that a description of the language at its surface level would manifest the language in the best way and that the data should be objective and observable. Neither deeper level of systemic analysis nor subjective interpretation is viewed as being necessary or valid.

Structuralism

While descriptive analysts stopped at describing linguistic data being used for language comparison, structuralists went beyond the simple data corpus to linguistic **systems** recognizable in the corpus. A structuralist, Harris (1951), argued that descriptivism could do no more than present a description of a corpus of data, and attempted to describe the interrelationship of elements within language. His introduction of the concept of components provided a basic structural unit of language system, and rendered the simple, objective linguistic data into an abstract representation of a language system.

On the other hand, the acknowledged father of structural linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1966) introduced a distinction between *langue* and *parole*, which marks a major structuralist advancement. Saussure conceived of two dimensions of language: langue, the abstract structural features of language as a whole, and parole, each instance of speech. This distinction clearly illustrates a language as an abstract structural system made up of each instance of speech at an individual level. Apart from the dialecticians, Vygotsky, Alexander Luria, and Aleksei Leontiev, who were labouring off centre stage, during that period, Saussure's insistence that "this distinction would be useful only when seen as a problem of social-psychology" had been unfortunately ignored by mainstream psychology, a situation that remained until present times.

The structural linguistics approach to culture culminated in the works of Claude Levi-Strauss (1967). As the other structural linguists did not limit their interest to simple descriptions of linguistic data, Levi-Strauss did not stop at discovering the terms within a system, nor was he interested in the mere description of what lay at the surface. He moved one step further and analyzed the system of the **relationship** among various anthrolopological terms in the system.

Influenced by the structural method, Levi-Strauss (1967) emphasized the shift from the study of conscious linguistic phenomena to a study of unconscious infra-structure as manifesting the relations **between** terms. He urged researchers to pay attention to the concept of the system, instead of a simple list of items, and to discover the general laws behind the interrelated systems. This approach is still current in some cultural anthropological endeavors and certain modern semiotics studies (Troubetzkoy, 1937; Hodge & Kress, 1988).

Transformational/generative grammar

While the structuralists were concerned with the relationships among the structural features of language, Noam Chomsky (1965) pointed to the inadequacy of structural systems alone as the basis of linguistic understanding. He moved away, as the early structuralists did, from descriptive analysis, and at the same time, attempted to construct a formalized general theory of linguistic structure, one which would account for all syntactic structures.

Chomsky's point was that an understanding of language came from determining and describing properties of the system of rules that underlie the features and relationships of language. However, the unique feature of Chomsky's view is that the rules are generated from an innate capacity to acquire a linguistic system. Adding the rationalist dimension to linguistic science, he ascribed the basis of language learning to an innate system, and set up the main task of linguistics as being one to describe how the underlying system generates an infinite number and forms of sentences.

Chomsky's recognition of the dual aspects of linguistic phenomenon, the underlying system, which was termed *competence*, and the overt manifestation of this system, *performance*, produced its parallel distinction in anthropological research. For instance, Keesing (1976; Keesing & Keesing, 1971) drew an analogy between culture and competence, and behavior and performance. Culture was viewed as an adaptational process where the ideational items were socially realized in a particular environment.[5] It was a set of standards taken as a guide for acting and interpreting the acts of others (Goodenough, 1970). The focus of these researchers was on studying the behavioral manifestations of cultural ideational codes.

Communicative analysis

Chomsky recognizes both linguistic competence and linguistic performance, but his attention is focused on the description of the former. Likewise, the anthropologists who attempt an anthropological pursuit of this rationalist quest focused on the ideation-sensitized culture, mentioning cultural performance only in passing. Culture is viewed as being fundamentally related to what people know about what they can do or what can be done to or for them, which is the abstract level of culture.

These limitations of ideational anthropology become readily apparent. Keesing and Keesing (1971), for instance, noted that despite the possible analogy of language to culture, culture occurred in a broader framework than that of the behavioral acts. They saw a need for a broader science of communication which would be, "a study of messages, not simply sentences: of non-linguistics as well as linguistic communication: and of contexts and networks as well as codes" (Keesing & Kessing, 1971, p. 85).

A more thorough criticism of the ideational perspective in linguistics and culture was given by Dell Hymes (1972b). He argued that concern with grammatical performance omitted almost everything of socio-cultural significance, and maintained that a communicative feature of language is the most sensitive dimension to cultural differences. He proposed a concept of "communicative competence" to replace the linguistic competence of Chomsky's theory. Acquisition of communicative competence, which consists of knowledge of when to speak, when not to speak, and what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner, according to Hymes, is itself cultural learning which involves tacit knowledge to conduct and interpret social experiences.

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[5] According to Heinz Werner and Bernard Kaplan (1963), the "person's *inner life*" itself is fundamentally linked to "*socially organized activity* and to communal ways of thinking" (Werner & Kaplan, 1963, p. 327). "When a child learns to articulate speech in order to communicate to others he also learns to communicate to himself" (Werner et al., 1963, p. 327). The "competence" and "performance" levels of people's behavior is, thus, simultaneous in ontogensis.

Studies in modern sociolinguistics have provided findings supporting communicative identification of culture. Gumperz's (1982) works on discourse strategies, for instance, demonstrated that people in different cultures utilized different discourse cues in judging what was intended in discourse, and the type or the content of the strategies employed all reflected different networks of social relationships among people. For example, code switching among bilingual speakers was observed to be intricately related to the social implications and values that they had in regard to a certain speech code. When they wanted to emphasize the "we-ness" among speakers, they turned to the "we-code", which was often their first language, whereas in a formal situation or work place, they distanced themselves from intimacy and informality by using the "they-code" of speech, which was an officially accepted "second" language.

The sensibility of communication to the cultural context is also observed in a study carried out by Bain, Yu and Choi (1987). They found the second language learners, when speaking in their first language, took relatively short pauses and made more interrupting turns, compared to when speaking in their second language. The second language learners, when communicating in their first language system with their own people, tended to extend the individual boundary of social existence so as to take the partners within the range of we-ness. Just as the participants in Gumperz's study employed the "they-code" as an attempt to distance themselves from the partners, the second language learners' return to their own linguistic code enhanced their cultural communality and caused their loosening of communicative formality such as observance of turn-taking. The intimate connection between the linguistic performance and the cultural context can be no more clearly demonstrated than in these observations.

Even if it were not for the empirical evidence, it is a theoretical prerequisite for anthropological linguistics, as an applied linguistics, to take into consideration the communicative conditions of practical life. As Slama-Cazacu (1983) noted, "language is intimately interwoven with the concrete conditions of social life" (p. 258). It cannot be adequately dealt with in absolute detachment of the socio-cultural habitat at which the users are situated. Moreover, culture itself is a phenomenal concept, which necessarily involves concrete conditions of people's daily life (cf., Johoda, 1984; Rohner, 1984). It is doubtful whether one can conceive of it as an abstract system. Even if it is possible, the effort will be hardly worthy, because cultural variables establish themselves in people's concrete daily communicative behavior (Segall, 1984).

All of this theoretical and empirical information suggests that communicative interaction is the most conspicuous measure of a culture and the fundamental ground for the engagement of cultural activities, lending a communicative interaction as the basic conceptual unit to the study of socio-cultural phenomenon, namely, the child's socialization process.

Interpretive sociology

Basic framework

In the normative paradigm of sociology, people's behavior is viewed as being governed by external social rules such as role expectations, dispositions, or status (Parsons, 1951; Wilson, 1970). There is no such assumption in the interpretive paradigm about existing rules governing people's behavior. The patterns and contents of the behavior are assumed to proceed as the actor is engaged in an interaction. Meanings of actions evolve and change as the interactions continue, and the individual's behavior is governed by his/her perception of another's actions in a specific context. A normative framework of human communication takes the view that people's conversation is a rule-governed phenomenon based on the performative forces hidden behind the utterances (cf., Searle, 1970). But from an interpretive paradigm, people's communicative interaction progresses as they act in the perspective supplied in part by their partner's actions.

What becomes important in an interpretive perspective is the interactional process itself. With the shift from normative to interactional processes, the focus is now on the general role of people's behaviors and on the actor himself in an interactional context (Schutz, 1967). Researchers take the role of the actor and try to see how the actor perceives the interactional context and how this perception affects the actor's subsequent interaction and the whole organization of the interactional context.

There are two lines of approach recognized within this interpretive paradigm: symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology. A brief description of these approaches is presented below to explain how the interactional process is identified with people's social activities.

Symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology: the Mead - Garfinkel connection

George Herbert Mead (1934), a founding father of symbolic interactionism, insisted on the correlative emergence of mind and self through the communicative context. He placed a person's social interaction as the foundation of his/her psychological and social development, and viewed the essence of a person's social interaction as lying in his/her use of symbols. He held that since the use of symbols required one to call out the other person's perspective at the same time that he/she called out his/her own, the presence of communicative interaction signalled the onset of mind for one's self. Self is, thus, a result of the continuing grasp of the perspective of others in relation to one's own.

Following the Meadian tradition, symbolic interactionism has come to view society as consisting of active individuals who interpret reality and organize their actions according to their interpretations (Blumer, 1966). Various social schemes are considered to be operating within these symbolic interpretations. Emphasis is on the social procedures or interactional rules, with which one defines objects in a socially appropriate manner and how one negotiates the constraints of group life (Gallant & Kleiman, 1983). The symbolic interactionist's main concern is to identify these covert symbolic meanings underlying overt patterns of interaction.

While the symbolic interactionism assumes that there are in society, objective, behavioristic interpretations on which basis people operate with their daily life, ethnomethodology insists that the location of social meaning resides in the **minds of people**. Meaning is equated with an individual's subjective experience, and as John-Steiner and Tatter (1983) noted, a social process is regarded as the process through which the individuals draw meanings from the signs they use. In ethnomethodology, the individual's interpretative process per se is a phenomenon subject to investigation, and the major task of the researcher is to uncover the unconsciously presumed rules penetrating people's interaction. The ethnomethodologists seek to investigate the taken-for-granted background expectancy set underlying people's conversation (Denzin, 1970; Garfinkel, 1964).

Language socialization

In the light of interpretive paradigm, child socialization is viewed as a process in which a child is exposed to interpretive procedures and acquires symbolic systems that will guide his/her subsequent interaction with others. It is a formative stage of the process wherein both discovering and internalizing processes of interpretive systems occur concurrently. Language socialization, which grasps the child socialization from this interpretive perspective, is now the focus of this inquiry. A brief review of the past approaches to child socialization is given below.

Predicaments in psychological research

No other phenomenon in the social sciences has received as much attention as child socialization. It has long been a focal interest of psychologists. The underlying learning mechanisms, the social connections, and cultural variation of this early formative process of child development have been studied (Hurrelmann, 1988; Munroe, Munroe, & Whiting , 1981). Nevertheless, it is one of the phenomena where definitions are as many as theorists who study the phenomenon. Socialization is often defined as the child's acquisition of the requirements of society (White, 1977). But what is meant by requirements varies from theorist to theorist. From the behaviorist point of view, this requirement is equated with an accumulation of behavior reinforced by external forces; a Freudian interpretation suggests "identification" of the parental roles of the same sex; Bandura's social learning theory focuses on observational modellings of the child's social world.

In addition to the problem of evasive definition, because of the disciplinary and theoretical understanding, the area of child socialization also encounters methodological variations. The personality or attitude test inventories, such as Parental Attitude Research Inventory, have been the main tool for the study of child socialization. They enable the researcher to identify and cluster the parental attitudes in certain categorical dimensions and measure their relationship with a corresponding battery of child's behavioral repertoires (McGillicuddy-de Lisi, 1982). However, this rather static approach of linear comparison between the parental attitude and child socialization behavior can give no more than a finished account of the socialization process. Without describing how a certain parental attitude is incorporated in the parents' daily interaction with the child and how this interactional experience comes to form a certain behavioral or personality pattern in the child, the inventory tools only function to pair the parents' attitude with its corresponding socialization effect. Such a "product-oriented" descriptive system does not demonstrate the very processional aspect of socialization in which the final socialization effects are formulated in interactional minutes.

Another predicament inherent in the psychological studies of child socialization is its constant failure to mention the influence or significance of the various social institutions, such as school, community, media etc., on the nature and content of child socialization. Socialization process is identified with an individual learning process governed by various psychological mechanisms and principles. It is rarely perceived as a social phenomenon subject to the confines of the socio-cultural context in which the child is situated. Except in a few sociological studies (e.g., Kohn, 1963; Kohn & Schooler, 1983), the inevitable constraints from the external social world in the child socialization process are not a focus of interest.

Language socialization: the contemporary focus

The introduction of an interpretive paradigm of child socialization, namely language socialization, has marked a notable moment in breaking these predicaments of the area. First of all, its emphasis on the communicative interaction has led researchers to recognize the value of communicative context of the child's interaction, and to look directly into the communicative interaction to describe the very process of socialization. The researchers finally come to grips with the very reality of the socialization process in order to investigate more detailed processional aspects of the subject.

The concept of socialization itself is given a new definition. It is viewed as acquiring the interpretive procedures which enable a child to make sense of, or assign meaning to, this environment in order to negotitate everyday activities. The emphasis has shifted from behavioral learning devoid of socio-cultural implications to acquisition of social understandings that are necessary for a child to function as a competent member in a given society. Furthermore, language or communicative experience emerges as the key medium of this social learning process. Drawing particular attention to the parallel development of language and interpretive procedures, Cicourel (1970), for instance, noted that both features were complementary, so that once the latter was available, the former was also refined in a socially prescribed and sanctioned way. The child's understanding of the symbolic use of language in everyday life is believed as the heart of his/her socialization process.

This relationship between the socialization process and the child's communicative experience is further noted by Speier (1970). He interpreted Cicourel's "sense of social structure" as an acquisition of interactional competence, and put forth a basic framework of communicative approach to problems of socialization. Viewing socialization as the acquisition of interactional competences, he argued that talk and its conversational properties comprised a new set of dimensions in the study of childhood social organization. To him, the study of the child socialization process must include a descriptive interactional analysis of the child's daily communication. His basic stance is that "an investigation of the concrete features of competent interaction is nothing more or less than a study of what children normally and routinely do their everyday activities..." (Speier, 1970, p.189).

The communicative approach to socialization gained significant empirical data in a landmark study done by Corsaro (1974). Following Speier's (1970) suggestions, Corsaro looked into the events of the children's everyday life and isolated patterns of interaction between young children and their socialization agents. The data showed that adults produced a number of clarification request utterances, which were thought to reflect the negotiation process between children and social agents. For instance, when the child says *It's no good.....*, the adult urged the child to clarify the meaning of the utterance by producing such utterances as *What is no good?*, *It's no good to do what?* By executing such communicative request, the adult exposed the child to the normative order that there was normally a negotiative process of meaning in conversation, and the specific content clarified through such negotiative process offered the child an opportunity to learn about certain values as expressed in negotiation.

The actual demonstration of the socio-cultural influences in the mother-child communicative interaction is most comprehensively described in a recent book, *Language Socialization Across Cultures* (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). It contains numerous sociolinguistic data describing the everyday patterns of the child's social interaction, and gives insight both into the main features and acquisitional procedures of interactional competences. This type of data has enabled researchers to discuss the socialization process with concrete data of the interactional patterns involved, making it possible to locate the very source of differences in socio-cultural learning by isolating the responsible interactional patterns of the social agents. Furthermore, the studies clearly indicates that the mother's communicative behavior is largely subject to the general socio-cultural expectations, and that the child's communicative experience is basically a socialization process through which he/she learns the social order.

Language socialization: a problem

The interpretive account of language socialization, however, is not problem-proof. Insufficient attention has been given to the **psychosocial** facets of language socialization. In order to formulate a certain pattern of communication, the participants should place their partners in a particular social perspective. One cannot organize his/her communicative attempts unless he/she is guided by some specific knowledge on how to perceive the other partner and how the other partner perceives him/her. Mead (1934) noted that the first psychological achievement occurring as a result of the child's communicative experience is the recognition of himself/herself in a social context. When the child recognizes or perceives the other self in relation to himself/herself, he/she enters the basic level of intersubjectivity, and only then, a real sense of communicative interaction begins to occur.[6]

Considering that the child's initial self is characterized by its undifferentiated state, one can argue that the child's recognition of his/her communicative partner or of himself/herself in relation to others is basically connected to the child's self-differentiation process. Another way of putting it is to say that the child's social perception in a communicative context has a lot to do with his/her ability to cognitively differentiate himself/herself from others. Interestingly, the mother's perception of the child's position in a social context is related to the degree to which the mother approves of this self-differentiation process of the child. Moreover, given that the social perception that the mother has about the child influences her communicative pattern, and that the mother's social perception consists of her perception of the child's self-differentiation process, a variety of the mother's communicative patterns have fundamental linkages with the mother's perception of the child's self-differentiation process. Presumably, one can argue that varying forms of socialization effects resulting from the mother's specific communicative patterns are dependent upon the mother's diverse views of the child's self-differentiation process. From the child's perspective, his/her social experiences are dependent upon how the mother views his/her differentiation process and how the mother situates herself in relation to the child. But this rudimentary dimension of communicative interaction between the mother and the child is not adequately recognized in the current studies of language socialization.

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[6] Although Mead pre-dated the contemporary viewpoint, it seems evident that he was correct in alerting us to the social transformation of the child in terms of "motherese."

Towards a psychosocial approach

While the language socialization researchers have largely neglected the psychosocial aspect of the child's communicative experiences, there is a group of researchers, (e.g., Delia, B. O'Keefe, & D. O'Keefe, 1982; Applegate & Sypher, 1983), who have been concerned with the psychosocial perception of communication. These researchers, called "constructivists," point out the importance of the social perception. They focus on how to view the other interactant as a crucial element in effecting communication. Applegate, Burleson, Burke, Delia and Kline (1985) applied this social perception concept to capture the qualitative distinctions in parental disciplinary strategies. The social perception in question was the mother's view of the child's autonomous functioning, that is, the degree to which the mother recognizes the child as a holder of a distinct psychological perspective. They attempted to plot the mother's communicative strategies in terms of this particular social perception. For example, instead of dichotomizing disciplinary strategies into "authoritarian" and "democratic" styles, they formulated three parenting strategies: Discouragement of reflection, Implicit encouragement of reflection, and Explicit encourage of reflection. These systems indicate the degree to which the mother leads the child to reflect upon his/her own behaviors.

What is worthy to note is the designation of the mother's perception of the child's autonomous properties as a major determinant of the mother's communicative behavior. It can be seen that how the mother views the psychological functionings of the child determines her communicative strategies: The more the mother is assured of the child's autonomous properties, the more likely she is to encourage the child to reflect upon his/her own behavior. Although it was not the purview of the constructivists, such social perceptions of the mother have a direct relation to her perception of the degree of the child's psychosocial **differentiation**. That the mother considers the child as being an autonomous intentional agent suggests that she holds a firm conviction regarding the child's accomplishment of psychosocial differentiation. If the mother does not assume the independent psychological functioning of a child, an adultmorphic assumption of the child's differentiation will not be made.

The constructivists suggest that the mother's communicative patterns or strategies are subject to her particular view of the psychosocial topography of herself and the child. What the child learns through this communicative experience is also a particular topographical map inherent in the mother's communicative patterns and structures. The resulting interactional competence, a sense of social structure, or interactional interpretive schemes, suggested by interpretive socialization as the very substance of a socialization process, can be seen more productively as being comprised of the child's learning of a particular psychosocial topography. The child learns how to situate himself/herself in a social context.

To emphasize the psychosocial aspect of the mother-child communicative interaction is not to suggest a return to a psychological reduction of language socialization. Rather, it is the premise of this study that the social transaction between mother and child can be best understood by looking at how the social context is analyzed and perceived in the individual mother's and child's psychosocial realm. Even in this psychosocial realm, the subject, namely, the social context faced by the mother and child, remains strictly social, at least originally, prior to full internalization, in that what is at stake is how to perceive the psychosocial functioning of the other. It is precisely this social nature of the original context that challenges the psychological operations of the mother and child. The basic objective of the present study is to examine the psychological process of this social reality. The goal is to advance our knowledge about how social reality and individual psychological process come to interact.

D. Summary

The main argument addressed in part II is that the mother-child interaction should be viewed as a socio-cultural event subject to all the contextual correlates of the society in which the dyad is situated. Socio-cultural influences are expressed in the mother's communicative patterns, and transmitted to the young member of the community through the child's interaction with the mother. What underlies the mother's communicative socialization process is the mother's perception of the child's self-differentiation, or psychosocial autonomy. Depending on how the mother perceives the psychosocial topography or dynamics between the mother and the child, her communicative patterns vary widely, so do the socialization effects. This psychosocial topography, or how to situate oneself in relation to others, is proposed as the major psychological force underlying the mother's communicative socialization process. It is the very nature of the socialization message transmitted to the child.

The examination of the mother's communicative interactions with the child is the operational quest. This quest is difficult in that the usual methodological conventions must be rendered more robust. The investigation of psychosocial topography in each participating culture and the description of the psychosocial formulations reflected in the mother's communicative patterns are the challenge. Before an actual analysis of communicative data, some basic knowledge regarding how to view communication between mother and child has to be obtained, and whether or not it can be treated like any other form of communication must be determined. Furthermore, a theoretical basis of the overall methodological procedure also needs to be established. These considerations are addressed in Part III.

III. TOWARD A METHOD

A. Communication: Its Nature and Organization

Major theories in communication studies are reviewed in this chapter. The aim is to gain basic knowledge of the nature, property, and organization of human communication in order to sharpen our conceptualization of the mother-child communication. The reviewed approaches are: speech act theory (Austin, 1968), conversational analysis (Levinson, 1983), ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1968), and Goffman's interaction rituals (Goffman, 1981).

Speech act theory

In his well known book, *How To Do Things With Words*, John Austin (1968) pointed to the performative function of speech, and argued that in saying something, one was not only stating a proposition, but also doing something. The utterance, *I do*, in the course of the marriage ceremony, he said, is not a statement describing or reporting that the bride and groom are marrying. It refers to their **doing**, that is, marrying; they are doing marrying by uttering the sentence. His point was that attention should be thus paid to the total speech act in the total speech situation, not to the locutionary content.[7]

This speech acts thesis was further elaborated by John Searle (1970), who paid special attention to performative speech acts. He delved into the subtle conventional performative functions embedded in our speech. He asserted that speech acts were a rule governed intentional behavior which operated on the basis of conventional symbolic systems. For instance, he argued, when a person is asked a question, *Could you close the door?*, the hearer should be able to understand that the sentence is not to ask about the hearer's ability to make the physical movement of closing a door, but is a request to close the door.

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[7] *Locutionary* act is one of the three speech acts distinguished by Austin (1968). It is "roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference (p. 108). An example would be one's uttering of the sentence, "She holds the door for him." *Illocutionary* act refers to "utterances which have a certain conventional force (p. 108). An example would be: "Could you hold that door, please?." *Perlocutionary* act are "what we bring about or achieve by saying something", such as "Hold that door!" (p. 108).

According to Searle, what constitutes a person's understanding of the meaning of speech is such knowledge of implicit performative force behind the speech. Grice (1957) continued with this thesis and proposed that meaning is basically a perlocutionary act. A meaning of speech is assumed to be transmitted when the speech produces some effect in the hearer. Searle nevertheless took the view that even if there occurs no actual effect in the hearer, as long as the hearer recognizes that the speaker is trying to tell something, and knows exactly what it is, the speaker can be said to have been successful in conveying his meaning.

The performative function carried in illocutionary speech acts is derived from our knowledge about the conventional usage of language. The entire conventional symbolic system of the community is necessarily involved in the interpretation of a sentence, although this conventional force is largely evasive at the sentential level of utterances. Searle thus suggested that the semantic context of the sentence alone is not sufficient to figure out the performative meaning of the utterance. A complete understanding of speech requires a consideration of the illocutionary performative force of a sentence based on given conventional systems.

Undoubtly speech act theory is an improvement over the earlier structural analysis approach. However, the speech act approach tends to see context as an epiphenomenon, an addition to the prior intent to communicate. A more parsimonious theoretical stance would suggest that intent and context are -- together -- a part of an irreducible whole.

Given the basic premise of the present study that the mother's communicative patterns are a function of her psychosocial dynamics, speech act theory cannot be accepted as originally presented. Attention should be paid to another perspective which would emphasize the contextual ground as the source of the communicative organization.

Conversational analysis

A major assumption of the speech act theory is that "there is a **specifiable function** that will map utterance units onto speech acts, and that the conversational sequences are primarily regulated by the drawn performative function of the speech act" (Levinson, 1983, p. 289). This assumption is to be challenged.

Despite the continuing efforts of speech act theorists to determine a definite set of performative functions identifiable in our speech, the classification of performative functions still remains incomplete (Hancher, 1979; Searle, 1983). Moreover, an utterance usually carries more than a single performative function, and the sources for multiple functions often lie outside the utterance in question. The assumption that the conversational sequence is a rule governed phenomenon based on the speech act translated from the utterance is seriously questioned.

As far as the sequential aspect of communication is concerned, the speech act theory alone is not enough to account for the complex "sequencing" constraints in conversation. A more appropriate approach would consider the immensely complex inferential processes that utilize information of many different kinds, as well as the nature of the utterance itself. Consider the following talk.

Mother A: Is Nancy there?
Mother B: They already left.

The sequential organization of this question-answer is based upon B's interpretation of A's question within the context where Nancy, Mother A's daughter, came to B's house to go camping with B's children. There is no proposed illocutionary force of answering. B's answering is organized by her inferential process of the context. This type of analysis would view conversation not as a structural product but as an outcome of the interaction of two or more independent, goal-directed individuals (Rommetveit, 1987). Conversational analysis emphasizes these interactional and inferential aspects of a conversation.

Conversational analysis was originally developed by sociologists (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff).[1] It was formulated as part of the attempt to study the set of techniques utilized by the members of a society in interpreting and acting within their own social worlds (Garfinkel, 1967). The main source of a conversational analysis consists of recurrent patterns of sequential talk and the main task of researchers is to discover the systematic properties of the sequential organization of talk. The final goal of the analysis is to understand the procedures and expectations that are actually employed by participants in producing and understanding conversation.

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[1] Psychologists are beginning to explore its usefulness (Bain, Yu, & Choi, 1989). Unlike the sociologists who tend to use strictly ethnomethodological approaches, psychologists tend to use both these and quantitative methods.

A number of works have been done on speech events such as turn-taking (Sack, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), management of adjacent pairs (Schegloff, 1979) and others. The management, rules, and variables involving different type of conversational sequences have been specified and extensively discussed (Levinson, 1983). The theoretical specifications of conversational structures are in fact impressive and the empirical data are substantial. Nevertheless, it is the stance of the present researcher that an exact methodological replication of the conversational analysis in dealing with data from mother-child communication is insufficiently robust.

The reason is this. One of the basic assumptions of the conversational analysis is that the patterning of adult's conversation is governed by specific interpretative mechanisms. For example, many of the organizational patterns observed in adult's conversation occur because of the speaker's effort to save face in a social context. Goody (1978), for example, noted that,

> When a subordinate asks his superior 'Will you greet the chief this morning?' what he means is ' Respectfully, Sir, you ought to greet the chief this morning.' It is wrong for the subordinate to tell his senior what he should do.... Instead he asks him what is ostensibly an information question. The superior may then answer, 'Yes, I shall greet the chief',.....but without having to admit that he has been told to do so by a subordinate. Further, the subordinate is protected from annoyance of his superior by this device, since neither need acknowledge that the subordinate was actually taking the initiative (pp. 32-33).

There is, however, no such established interpretative mechanism in mother-child interaction. It has been said that the major factor influencing the various organizations of the mother-child communication is the mother's perception of the psychosocial autonomy of the child's reality -- particularly its degree of differentiation. One may argue that this social perception of the mother is a kind of interpretative system in that it operates as a governing force of the mother's communication. But unlike the preformatted interpretative system that already exists at a conventional level as a socio-cultural norm, the specific social perception that the mother has towards her child in an actual communicative context is at least partially contextually generated. For instance, there is no pre-existing interpretative system prescribing how and to what extent the child is psychosocially differentiated from the mother. A mother, once faced with a child as a communicative partner, is set to a certain presumption toward the child's psychosocial autonomy, and this predisposition continues to be confirmed or revised as the communication proceeds. The mother-child communication is characterized by the mother's continuing effort to establish such a presumptive system with the young partner, whereas the adults' conversation is characterized by their efforts to transact within the pre-existing interpretative norm, namely, saving face.

It is a truism that the mother-child interaction is partially organized by the sequential context. Thus, the suggestion of conversational analysts to consider the sequential impact of an utterance on the next utterance and to avoid singling out a pair of turns from its overall context can be readily accepted. But with regard to what it is that constitutes the essence of the sequential context, and how this contexual background operates to govern the communication, the present study proposes a more global perspective. The stance of the present study is that mother-child communication is a process in which both the mother **and** the child attempt to learn how to place themselves in relation with each other. Their communicative attempts are the reflection of a **continuing negotiation process** and the organization of the mother's communication represents the specific manner in which the negotiative process about the psychosocial topography is carried out.

Ethnography of speaking: the Hymes connection

Conversational analysts focus on the sequential organization of utterances. Their focus is shifted from the immediate performative functions assumed to be invariably embedded in utterances to the function of the interactional context and the inferential process of the participants, which were of concern to the speech act theorist. The relevant contextual background is thus widened to account for the entire interactional context. But this expanded interactional context, nevertheless, lacks socio-cultural properties. In other words, the conversational analysis fails to represent communication as a socio-cultural event occurring with the socio-cultural context involving people from a variety of socio-cultural dimensions.

According to Hymes (1968, 1972a), language should be an integral part of the whole world of cultural behavior. A proper study of communication must involve psychology, sociology, and anthropology, and be concerned with the differential role of language in socialization, personality and interaction (Hymes, 1984). Furthermore, "any thoroughgoing linguistic theory is of necessity a theory that makes ethnographic assumptions" (Hymes, 1964, p. 6). The ethnography approach is thus concerned with not only the linguistic system, but also the ethnolinguistic systems encompassing the characteristics of their users and circumstances of use.

This new approach to speech features non-linguistically defined units, such as community, personality, event, or context of situation. The main emphasis is placed on the descriptions of actual behavior in an actual setting. Information about setting or circumstance is not peripheral but becomes an integral part of the analysis. "Community, or personality, or event, or context of situation, replaces the homogeneous code as frame of reference" (Hymes, 1964, p. 23). In this ethnolinguistic approach, the validity of analysis lies in whether or not the members of the speech community accept the analysis as part of their reality.

This ethnolinguistic approach entails the most comprehensive concept of communicative context to date. It finally consummates our effort to conceive of communication as a necessary part of socio-cultural reality. However, its concern with ethnographic properties of the context at hand does not adequately consider the sub-contextual background. For example, Hymes' ethnogaphy of communicative competence called for the need for etic concepts, such as the topics, procedures, and specific questions, and hypotheses of people's speech. But it is not regarded as necessary to describe the interactional dynamics generated during the people's communication and the influences of these contextually-generated dynamics on the participants' organization of talk, but these related contextual properties are what constructs a particular moment of interaction.

What interferes with people's actual interaction is not the sum of the individual situational elements, but the social reality temporarily created by the complex network of the elements. When the contextual properties come to shed influence on the interaction, it is through this contextually created social reality in which the individual properties participate as basic constituents. This contextual aspect of the situation is more than a perception of the independent constituents. It is a product; a reality of its own property, formulated from the complex interplay of various socio-cultural conditions of the participants. It has been already mentioned that what governs the mother's communicative patterns is this kind of contextually created mother's perception of the child's psychosocial autonomy. Hymes' notion of ethnography of speaking falls short of recognizing this dynamic interplay of the independent properties of the context. Erving Goffman's frame analysis takes this contextual social reality as the pivot of inquiry.

Frame, interaction rituals: the Goffman's connection

In his book, *Forms of Talk* (1981), Goffman addressed his concerns to the underlying forces that formulated our talk into certain sequential organizations. The normative assumption adopted by the earlier conversational analysts (e.g., Schegloff, Sack) purports illocutionary forces of utterances as major determinants. That is, the speaker's need to explicate what he means to get across and the hearer's effort to show the speaker that he agrees with the speaker as to what is heard are assumed to lodge the talk into a specific format.

Goffman's argument is that what counts in an exchange of talk has to do with a rather more practical purpose, namely, confirmation of transmission of message. What a speaker needs to know, according to him, is whether the speaker's message has been received or transmitted, and if so, "whether or not it has been passably understood" (Goffman, 1981, p. 12). All that the hearer would do is to signal to the speaker that he has received the message correctly. According to Goffman, sequential organization is an interactional product of the effort to accomplish this task of assuring message transmission. It is not an interpretive process of decoding intended meaning.

The notion of ritual constraints was suggested by Goffman as one of the conditions facilitating the organization of talk (Goffman, 1967). He said that what became central in a dialogic situation is "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1959). When engaged in a dialogic exchange of talk, the participants are presenting themselves to the other, and have a basic tendency to have themselves counted as persons of social worth, such as:

> In making an assertion about facts, the maker must count on not being considered hopelessly wrongheaded; if a greeting, that contact is wanted; if an excuse, it will be acceptable; if an avowal of feeling and attitude, that these will be credited; if a summons, that it will be deferred to; if a serious offer, that is won't be considered presumptuous or mean" (Goffman, 1981, pp. 16-17).

This social motive, based on the notion of presentation of self, Goffman argued, provides a more plausible account of the organization of talk than the normative assumption of illocutionary force. For instance, he argues that the following talk can be best accounted for by the notion of "ritual constraint."

A: Have you got the time?

B: Yes, it's 5:15.

According to the speech act theory, one would find the "Yes" in B's answer redundant. "It's 5:15" suffices to show A B's understanding of A's utterance. But Goffman held that B's "Yes" is a ritual constraint. He analyzed,

> B, walking past A, who is in a parked car, wants it known that he, B, will honor the request, yet finds that the time taken to get at his watch removes him a couple of steps from the car and opens up the possibility of his being seen as declining to acknowledge the contact (Goffman, 1981, p. 30)

B may have felt it's vital to let A know that A's request has been in fact immediately ratified, thereby to prevent A from feeling incumbent with his request. These social concerns of B's with A's social vulnerability, Goffman sees, are what underlies B's reply.

In Goffman's view, communicative interaction is analogous to a theatrical stage performance in which the speakers construct a reality for the moment that the performance, that is, communication, is going on. The concept of frame was introduced by Goffman to denote this temporal theatrical boundary of conversation. According to him, a conversational situation is presumed in only so far as it can be framed in a particular context. It is this socially situated or constructed reality which embodies the occurrence of conversation, and governs the specific rules of the conversational organization.

Compared to Hymes' idea of contextuality, which has an obscure grasp of the social dynamics among the contextual elements or properties, Goffman's notions of framed social reality and the ritual constraints bring forth an advanced understanding of the communicative context by designating the relevant boundary of the context to the particular communication and expounding the basic components of the context. Applying these notions, one would get an even closer look at the social reality that governs the mother-child interaction, and also come to be concerned with the specific contextual properties that interfere with their organization of talk.

A problem in a direct import of the frame analysis to the mother-child communication, however, is that there are yet no established ritual constraints between the mother-child that will confine their communication. In a communicative exchange between two fully functioning adults, the basic notion of the ritual constraints is already encoded in their social behavior. When two adult interactants face each other, the constraints are set to operate. Their instant motive, for example, to save face would be recognized by both parties.

Unlike adult communication, the mother-child communication involves a "yet-to-be-sophisticated" partner. The mother's implicit goal is to nurture the socially acceptable conventions. She presumes no such social frameworks in her communication with the child. What becomes significant in this case is not so much the pre-existing ritual constraints, but the perception of the mother about the child's position as a communicative partner. In a way, the mother-child communication is characterized by its effort to formulate a communicative context. The participants are not yet framed in a set of social conventions. If there is any social reality governing their communiciation, it may be constituted by the efforts of the two to create a full-fledged communicative social reality.

This continuing effort of the mother to formulate a communicative context is central to the mother-child communication. The social reality that comes to frame the mother-child communication consists of the effort of the competent partner, the mother, to manage a communicative exchange with the "yet-to-be-competent" one. **The contextual, or ethnographic properties become relevant to the extent that they influence this effort of the mother.** The aforementioned psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child, that is, how the mother places the child in relation to her and how she poses herself in relation to the child, are a psychological re-presentation of this effort. These psychosocial perceptions are what constitutes the immediate communicative context and governs the organization. A social reality between the mother and child is constructed, one which lends itself to the basic framework of their communication.

Summary

It has been observed that mother-child communication has a distinctive feature of its own, which prohibits a direct application of the premises of the major communication theories. The notable characteristic of the mother-child communication is that there is yet no formatted communicative context that is governed by pre-existing interpretative systems or ritual constraints. Rather mother-child communication is unique in that it is the process which generates and establishes such a communicative context, and that this constructing tendency operates as a governing context. The major ingredient essential to the creation of such a context is the mother's effort to construct a communicative reality with the child.

This peculiar condition of the mother-child communication necessitated a methodological framework that would examine the communicative construction process and categorize the manners in which this process is managed. Grounded Theory is adopted to satisfy these conditions.

B. A Methodological Procedure: Grounded Theory

The discussion in the preceding chapter suggested that communication between the mother and child should be regarded as a negotiative process of how to place oneself in relation to the other. A next step is to determine a general procedure of how to embody this perspective in actual research. In other words, there is a need to discuss how to generate communicative categories that can represent culture-specific ways of perceiving the psychosocial topography between the mother and child. This methodological demand leads to an adoption of Grounded Theory. Grounded theory focuses on the generation of theory from data, rather than on the verification of theory by data.

Grounded theory was proposed by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss (1967). Emphasizing their concern with generation rather than verification of theory, Glaser and Strauss endeavored to elevate the status and quality of this qualitative approach to the same level of procedural rigor found in most logico-deductive approaches.

> We address ourselves to the equally important enterprise of *how the discovery of theory from data - systematically obtained and analyzed in social research - can be furthered*. We believe that the discovery of theory from data - which we call *grounded theory* is a major task confronting sociology today, for, as we shall try to show, such a theory fits empirical situations, and is understandable to sociologists and layman alike. Most important, it works - provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations, and appreciations (Glaser et al., 1967, p. 1).

It is of particular importance to note that grounded theory aims to generate theory, one which is presumed to meet all the requirements usually imposed on deductively derived theories: prediction and explanation of behavior, usefulness in theoretical advancement, practical applicability, to name a few. In fact, the formulators believed that these requirements would best be met by a systematic discovery of the theory from the data. They maintained,

> Since the categories are discovered by examination of the data, laymen involved in the area to which the theory applies will usually be able to understand it, while sociologists who work in other areas will recognize an understandable theory linked with the data of a given area (Glaser et al., 1967, pp. 3-4).

A distinguishable characteristic of grounded theory, compared with conventional logico-deductive approaches, is the former's emphasis on the systematic procedures whereby the theory is derived from obtained data. It assumes that the adequacy of a theory cannot be evaluated in isolation from the process by which it is generated. Thus, one "canon for judging the usefulness of a theory is how it was generated" (Glaser et al., 1967, p. 5). It is even suggested that generating a theory from data should be interpreted as postulating that theory not only comes from the data, but is systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of research.

The actual methodological procedure of grounded theory is called comparative analysis. It encompasses the use of the following concepts. First, a researcher stands upon conceptual categories that were generated from data.[9] A category is a theoretical abstraction which emerged from data to illustrate the phenomenon at hand. It consists of properties that represent the conceptual aspects of the category. The category and its properties are continually examined and undergo emergent conceptualizations, which involve constant checks with comparative data to synthesize the categories at hand into many levels of conceptual and hypothetical generalization as possible. For example, if the Korean mothers turn out to have a psychosocial perception of the child called A, this concept A will be applied to various groups of mothers with different socio-economic levels. And the variations of A observed in these groups are incorporated in defining the nature of A, thereby enhancing the clarity of the concept.

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[9] As Blackman (1983) notes, not all approaches of grounded theory necessarily attempt to generate conceptual categories, that is, the theoretical abstraction of phenomena. Some may end up with remaining simply descriptive and

The comparison of differences and similarities among groups also generates generalized relations among categories. As researchers discover categories and continue working on the discovered categories, they are led to see a relation or relations among these categories and formulate a hypothesis based on these relations. With this initial hypothetical framework, they further examine the data with the explicit purpose or idea of a theory being generated. In the course of this pursuit, the categories are further elaborated and more properties are unraveled. Eventually, the relations among the categories become more explicit and clear. Taking the above example again, the varied forms of the concept A can be put in relation to the original A, and the researcher sets up a relation or identifies patterns among these categories.

Once researchers exhaust all the possible diversity of categories and properties and the full range of their relations, an integrated framework emerges. This framework must take into consideration the fullest range of conceptual levels, and undergo tests of various comparative data. Its use at a more general level can be determined only after a substantive model -- that is, a working hypothesis based on a diverse source of data -- has sufficiently emerged.

All the above processes follow theoretical sampling procedures, wherein researchers collect, code, and analyze data, and then on the basis of initial analysis, decide what to collect next to develop the theoretical idea. The data collection is

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[9](cont'd) impressionistic; others may proceed to formulate hypotheses through systematic analysis of data and verify them. The most advanced stage of grounded theory is set for the generation of categories which requires a wide range of procedures of data comparison to enhance the level of generality of the categories emerged.

controlled by the emerging theory, and the subsequently collected data are to substantiate the claims which emerged previously. At the very outset of the data collection, when theories do not yet emerge, a general perspective or a general problem area declared serves as a guiding outline.

This general perspective is fundamentally different from a pre-determined theoretical framework. The former is at best a declaration of the area, and not yet a formulation of a specific conceptual framework of the concerned problem. The present study's concern with the mother's perception of the child's psychosocial autonomy can be such a declaration of a general problem area. It defines the general boundary of what to look at, but does not entail specific hypotheses of the psychosocial patterns, relations, or categories.

Instead of starting with such pre-formatted hypotheses, both the grounded theory and the present study aim to generate such categories and properties. Efforts will be made to go through a step-by-step procedure to clarify emerging theoretical categories and to determine the corresponding communicative patterns. Analysis at each step must function to further elaborate the idea emerged from the previous stage and allow a place for new data to be assimilated. The goal of the present research will be reached when initial hypotheses that can conceptualize the cultural differences in the mother's perception of the child's psychosocial reality with responsible communicative correspondences emerge. This emerging framework should be able to account for the differentiated socialization effects embedded in the categories.

C. Summary

The conceptual framework evolved thus far designates the child socialization as a sociogenetic process of the child's psychosocial development. And it has been seen that this conceptual grasp can be best illustrated by grounded theory, an attempt that will identify the conceptual psychosocial categories underlying the child's communicative interactions with the mother. These conceptual and methodological foundations have paved a road to the operationalization of the understandings in actual data. The following discussions describe how the understandings of the cultural differences in the child's psychosocial developments in Korea and Canada have emerged through the generative process.

IV. STUDY 1: SEARCH FOR A THEME

One of the requirements of theoretical sampling is to have a general perspective of the subject at the outset of the research. For the present study, the concept of psychosocial topography has already been identified as the general problem area. The purpose of study 1, a pilot study, was to gain initial knowledge of what aspect of the mother-child communication should be analyzed in order to represent the mother's psychosocial topography. This objective necessitated a collection of actual communicative data from the mother-child interaction. The following is a description of the theme search process, with actual collected communicative data.

A. Participants and Data Collection

The major participants were a five year old boy (L), and his mother (M), living in Edmonton. Like other typical Canadian immigrant families of the first generation, two cultural backgrounds coexisted in the family. The child was born in Tanzania, but grew up in Canada. Having been in Canada for about 5 years, he refused to speak his African tongue, and was being socialized mainly in English. The mother was born and spent her early childhood in Tanzania. But all of her education was received in Canada and her culturalization process has gone so far as to choose English as the major medium of family interaction. The father was also from Tanzania, pursuing a Ph.D degree at the University of Alberta.

The data collection consisted of video-tapings of the mother and child interacting in their home environment over six sessions. The tapings occurred after L's coming home from kindergarten, during which time the mother noted that the most intensive interaction would take place. The last two sessions included free-time interactions during day time on the weekend. Each session lasted for 30 minutes.

As the prime concern was to get the most natural interactional data possible, no efforts were made to restrict or to shape the interaction. The mother and child were not instructed to behave in any particular way; they were left to spontaneously engage in an interaction. No signals were given to them to act for the camera. The taping slipped into the scene as naturally as possible, eventually becoming an expected part of each observational session. The video-taped communication was transcribed and produced the basic data.

B. Search for a Theme

In order for a communication to take place, there is one minimum condition to be met. **It is the presence of a communicative attempt initiated by one of the participants.** The actual response on the part of the hearer is not essential in declaring an occurrence of communication. Even if the hearer does not respond to the speaker's attempt, as long as there is an attempt from the speaker's part, there can be a communication, albeit a failed one. From the speaker's point of view, a failed communication is an obvious instance of a communicative event through which he/she learns that there was no response from the hearer. Since the present study is based on an assumption that there is an occurrence of some form of communicative exchange between the mother and the child, there is **no need** to be concerned with this minimum condition of communication. It is presumed to be already satisfied.

Focus is instead placed on the **responding** feature of communication: how and whether or not the mother responds to the child. How the mother deals with the child's communicative attempt is the key variable responsible for varied organizations and qualities of the mother's communication. If the mother does not produce any response to the child's communicative attempt, the communication will immediately call for cancellation. Responsive attitude, in contrast, will lead to a collaborative construction of communication. A wide range of impact is expected on the child's socialization process, depending on how the mother responds to the child's utterances.

What then, are the theoretical properties of the mother's response? What is the psychological meaning of the mother's being responsive? Let us begin with the meaning of response.

Mother's response

Etymological definition of *respond* is to promise a reply, answer **in return.** One can respond only in return: In order to respond, there should be an initial action to be reacted to. Response is a behavior of second order which is triggered by a prior event. Two implications follow immediately. One is that a response requires a social context in order to occur, which involves at least two separate parties. Although there may exist self-answering or self-reacting, in a normal sense, a response is presumed to be an event occurring in return to a prior event by another separate entity.[10] Secondly, an event can be called a response insofar as it is relevant to the prior event. Relevance does not imply complement. Two events can be of opposite nature of any sort. But they have to be somehow related to one another in order to call the second order event a response.

Besides these general features of response, the mother's response entails some other characteristics as follows. First, the essential effect of the mother's responsive behavior is its provision of an opportunity for the child to experience a connectedness of his/her behavior to the environment. When the child's behavior brings about some effects in the environment, he/she feels the belonging of himself/herself to the world. When the effects have taken place in relation to another human being, the child comes to recognize a very primitive level of social relationship. The mother's responsive behavior functions like a **social sounding board** which echoes the child's initially undifferentiated behavioral attempt back to the child, and thereby allows the child to recognize his/her social efficacy in the environment and to experience the relateness to the environment.

Secondly, in order for the child to feel related to the mother, the mother first places herself in relation to the child. In other words, her response should be what is relevant to the child's current need, state, or behavior. All the concepts concerning the responsive attitude imply this relevance principle in one way or another. For example, the mother's responsive attitude is often identified as "child-centred" communication (Hess & Shipman, 1967). All that characterizes a child-centred communication is the mother's respect to the child's individually unique needs, which is a communicative form realizing the relevance principle.

Thirdly, an imitative echoing of the child's prior attempt can be hardly called a response. The mother may borrow the linguistic form of the child's prior utterance to take her turn. But if this imitation is not substantiated with the mother's progressive attitude to continue the communication, it results in a cancellation of the child's initiative attempt, instead of a continuation of the exchange. Thus, in addition to the relevance principle, a mother's response must entail suggestiveness. There should be a constructive element added by the mother's turn and the child should be shown a further idea in regard to the event he was concerned with.

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[10] In a normal sense, the separate entity needs not to be a person; it can be an inanimate object. But in this research, it is assumed to be a person.

Given that the mother's response is characterized by the child's relatedness feeling, relevance and suggestiveness principles, what is the communicative effect that will be caused by the these characteristics? What is the basic function of these specific properties of the mother's response in a communicative context? The theme search effort continued with these questions, and the following is a description of how the questions were probed and resolved through actual examinations of data.

Thematic progress

In order to identify the communicative function or functions of the three features of the mother's response, the research reviewed the whole body of collected data. A focus was placed on identifying the mother's utterances that featured the three properties of the mother's response, and examining their relationship to the child's utterances anterior and posterior to the mother's utterance. A critical function of the mother's response unraveled through this examination can be best grasped by the concept of "thematic progress." The mother's responses that featured the three properties were observed as having resulted in reflecting of progress in the development of the interactional theme or topic of the child's prior utterance. On the other hand, the mother's utterances that did not contain any of the three response properties tended to cause a thematic stalemate, and the communication did not thematically develop over the turns of the mother and the child.

The following talk exemplifies a responsive utterance of the mother resulting in thematic progress.

L:(a) I don't like cheese.
M:(b) That's o.k....you don't have to eat it then.

The mother's utterance (b) results in thematic progress in relation to the child's preceding utterance (a), in that the child's utterance is thematically responded to by the mother. The child's topic that he does not like cheese receives a kind of recognition from the mother that it is o.k. even if he does not like cheese. Responded to by the mother's utterance (a), the child comes to know what the mother thinks about the theme he addressed previously. This thematic progress made over the transactional exchanges of (a) and (b) is a function of the mother's responsive utterance, (b).

Suppose the child's utterance (a) is responded thusly:

L: (a) I don't like cheese.
M: (c) (in monologue) Oh I don't know where I put my purse.

The mother is aware of the child talking to her. Nevertheless, she is so preoccupied with her misplaced purse that she does not produce an utterance related to the child's prior utterance. In this case, the child's prior utterance concerning his dislike of cheese is disregarded by the mother, and the child does not know what the mother's opinion about his utterance is. The child's utterance (a) receives no thematic progress by the mother's utterance, (c). This non-functioning utterance of the mother cannot be called a response to the child's prior utterance, in a real sense. It just happens to be placed sequentially behind the child's utterance, with the relevance principle not being observed.

A thematically relevant utterance, however, does not necessarily refer to a semantic extension. A semantic extension results in thematic progress, but all the thematically progressive utterances are not necessarily a semantic extension of the child's utterance. Consider the following example.

L:(a) I'll eat it later.
M:(b) O.K.

The mother's utterance (b) is certainly not a semantic extension of (a). But (b) acknowledges what the child said, and functions to express minimally what the mother thinks about the topic carried in the child's utterance (a). From the child's perspective, his idea (a) is at least recognized by the mother, and the mother's recognition is expressed, even though minimally, but explicitly in the mother's utterance (b). The mother's utterance (b) meets the relevance condition, and the child experiences a relatedness of his attempt to the partner.

It is this, the child's recognition of the interactive bond, not the specific linguistic formula that constitutes the essence of the concept of thematic progress. When thematic progress results, the child comes to realize the **interactive** nature of his/her encounter with the mother. The child comes to experience a primitive form of being social when his/her utterance is received responsively. Putting this in another way, thematic progress is a necessary communicative effect accompanying a responsive social interaction between the mother and child. It covaries with the mother's responsive attitude.

Given that the mother's responsive attitude is the most phenomenal and critical feature of the mother's communicative behavior, it is natural to take the notion of thematic progress, the main communicative effect of a mother's responsive attitude, as the point of departure. The thematic progress is considered the communicative identification of the mother's responsive attitude, which is in turn viewed as the key conceptual framework of our concern with the mother's perception of the psychosocial topography. In other words, it is assumed the mother's concept of psychosocial topography between the mother and the child has an isomorphic relation to her management of thematic progress of her utterance.

To begin with, all responses were presumed to be located along the continuum of communicative thematic progress, with positive and negative signs at both ends, which respectively implied facilitation and deterrence of a communicative progress.[11] A further elaboration of the progress continuum was made by reviewing the whole corpus of data. Let us now turn to 3 progress categories generated thus far in this study.

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[11] From now on, any communicative progress is taken to refer to thematic progress.

Thematic progress categories

Negative progress (NP)

Negative progress, NP, refers to a case where no progress is made by the mother's utterance. The mother's no response, or irrelevant response to the child's preceding utterance results in NP. Some examples are:

L: What is this thing, mom?
M: *(no response).*

L: I like doing this (rocking chair, said to the mother).
M: *What is this?* (talking to herself)

The mother's utterances in the above cases result in a breakdown in the communicative progress, and the whole communication process is brought to a temporary halt. The child's communicative initiatives stay confined within the child's reality, and fail to be socially expressed, because the mother does not create a shared reality by appropriately reacting to the attempts made.

Negative progress (NP) utterances, however, can harbor potential resulting in progress. Often, when a child discovers his/her communicative attempt is not successfully reacted to by the mother, he/she tends to prompt the mother for a proper response to his/her utterance. When one focuses on the consequence only, the mother's NP utterance can be also said to have resulted in some kind of progress in the communication, because after all the child's urging utterance is induced by the mother's NP utterance. In this research, such potential progress is not taken into consideration. As shown in the earlier sample talk, an utterance is regarded as NP utterance if it does not produce a response to the immediately preceding utterance, and the prior utterance does not get any thematic progress developed in the immediately following utterance. This category was the easiest to identify.

Neutral progress (NuP)

When a child's utterance is responded to by a mother's negative progress (NP) utterance, the child's utterance is repressed back to the child's own reality, and not recognized in the social context. In other words, the child's communicative attempt is not registered in the social reality. But when the child's utterance is responded to by the mother's neutral progress (NuP) utterance, at least the social register part is allowed; the mother makes a minimum sign of her recognition of the occurrence of the child's attempt. But this minimum sign of notice is all that is intended by the mother's NuP utterance. There is no insertion of the mother's idea to the topic introduced by the child's utterance. Although the communication manages to avoid a complete cancellation, its progress is put on hold, and no actual thematic progress is made.

In the case of negative progress (NP) utterance, the disruption of thematic progress is caused by the mother's complete ignoring of the child's prior attempt. In the case of NuP utterance, the continuation of communication is impeded by the mother's attempt to make the thematic move thrusted by the child stay where it starts. Consider the following converstation.

L: Museum.
M: *Museum?*

The child points to a picture in a book and says to the mother, *it is a museum*. He initiates a communicative attempt centred on his recognition of the museum in the book. The mother's utterance responds to this communicative intention of the child's attempt, but the response consists of the effort only to recognize the occurrence of the child's communicative attempt. The child's attempt is not even fully approved of by the mother at this point. She is trying to confirm the presence of such an attempt with the child. Let us look at other examples of NuP utterances.

L: This is an apple.
M: *Is it?*

L: I didn't like it.

M: *You didn't?*

One common characteristic of these neutral progress (NuP) utterances of the mother is that they do not accept the child's attempt **as a legitimate turn of the child's expression of his/her ideas**. The child's communicative attempts are not approved of by the mother as a social attempt deserving appropriate responses from the mother. The mother shows a minimal sign that she heard phonological formulations of some sort, but does not appear to acknowledge them as a communicative attempt directed to her in expectation of responding. The communicative flow is barely maintained, but thematic progress is not observed. This neutral progress category is the most difficult to identify.

Positive progress (PP)

PP is an utterance which acknowledges the social nature of the communicative attempt made by the child, by appropriately responding to it. In the case of negative progress (NP) the social nature of the child's utterance is completely denied by the mother's ignoring of its occurrence. Neutral progress (NuP) utterances recognize the thrust of the child's attempt in the realm of social reality, but do not fully accept the authority of the child as the very source of such a social attempt. PP utterances do recognize the child as the legitimate source of his/her communicative attempt and approve of the social nature of such an attempt by emitting the appropriate response. The core of the appropriateness consists of a kind of contingent relevance and suggestiveness. A PP utterance is thematically related to the prior utterance and leads to topic progress.

The progress does not necessarily have to be complementary in nature. Presentation of a conflicting idea also comprises a form of progress from a thematic point of view. Utterances to argue, protest, refuse, or negate as well as those to elaborate, explain, support or encourage qualify as positive progress (PP) utterances.

The ultimate criterion of PP utterance is that as long as the mother's utterance acknowledges the child's preceding utterance, and appropriately responds to it, it is regarded as a PP utterance. A PP utterance can be as simple as the following.

L: Do you know her name?
M: *Mrs. Kesch.*

An elaborative positive progress, PP, is:

M: What did you do in gym?
L: We get the balls,....and....and I don't know what the rest is.
M: *Did you have to throw the balls?*

Prohibitive, but thematically progressive utterance can be:

L: (approaching to the equipment).
M: *L!*(to stop him).

L: (leaking plate)
M: *Don't do that!*

These PP categories were fairly easy to identify.

C. Summary

Study 1 attempted to determine the basic feature of the mother-child communication that can be used to conceptualize the notion of psychosocial topography. The search started with the focus on the responsive aspect of the mother's communication. Three basic properties of the mother's response were identified. A further investigation revealed that those properties resulted in thematic progress of the child's utterances.

Thematic progress, which is the main communicative effect of the mother's responsive utterance, is concerned with whether or not, or to what extent the thematic thrust made by the child is incorporated into the mother's following utterance. Its concern with the communicative development over the turns of the mother's and the child's utterances is seen as capable of revealing the psychosocial dynamics between the dyads. This, of course, is the main thesis of the present research.

With sufficient confidence in this initial communicative framework, the researcher proceeded to collect the cross-cultural data and attempted to apply the thematic progress categories to gain the initial understanding of the cultural differences in the mother's notion of psychosocial topography. From this analysis, further efforts were made to theorize on the emerging culture-specific patterns of the mother's psychosocial topography. These efforts consisted of further determination of communicative patterns that would reveal the psychosocial difference in the mothers. Study 2 describes this process of elaboration and differentiation of the theme.

V. STUDY 2: ELABORATION OF THEME

A. Participants

General description

There were four middle class mother and child dyads: two from Seoul, Korea, and two from Edmonton, Canada. The children were all 4 year old boys.[12] The socio-cultural conditions that were taken into consideration in selecting the participants are listed below along with the descriptions of the participants in each conditional category.

The mothers' age

Table 1
The Ages of the Mothers

Korean			Canadian		
Woojin[1]	Gisuk	G.M.[2]	David	Charles	G.M.
34	34	34	33	32	33

[1] The mothers are identified by the children's pseudonames.
[2] Group Means.

In both countries, the females' mean age at their first marriage is between 24 and 25.[13] Considering this national mean, the age of the mothers who would have a four year old child would be around 30 in both countries. The participating mothers were thus slightly older than their national means.

Schooling

Table 2
The Schooling Years of the Mothers

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[12] Detailed descriptions follow.

[13] Hereafter, the Korean statistics are based on the 1987 National Survey, Economic Planning Board. The Canadian data is drawn from Canada Year Book, 1988.

Korean			Canadian		
Woojin	Gisuk	G.M.	David	Charles	G.M.
12	16	14	12	15	14

The average number of years of schooling attained by Korean women aged between 20 and 29 is 9.28. A slightly higher figure is expected in the urban areas, but the national average is limited to grade 9 in secondary school.

The Canadian source reveals a similar figure. The average schooling attained by women aged between 25 and 34 falls between grades 9 and 13. The participating mothers of both groups had higher educational levels than the other average women of their age in the respective country. But there was no notable group difference among the participating mothers and each group managed to maintain the same proportion of educational levels of the mothers: one university graduate and one high school graduate.

Annual income

[14]

Table 3
The Annual Income of the Families

Korean			Canadian		
Woojin	Gisuk	N.M.[1]	David	Charles	N.M.
700,000W	750,000W	500,000W	$35,000	$40,000	$30,064

[1] National means.

Given that the Korean national average annual income falls aroun 500,000 Won, the participating Korean families were above the the national mean.[15] The participating Canadian families also surpassed their national average of $ 30,064.[16]

Mothers' employment

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[14] Except for D's mother, who had a part-time job, the family income basically refers to the fathers' income.

[15] 1 CND $ = approx. 570 Won

[16] Since the median points were not available with the Korean group, to be consistent, the Canadian statistics were also based on the average figures. Source: 1986 Corpus Almanac & Canadian Source Book vol.1

Table 4
Employment Status of the Mothers

Korean		Canadian	
Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
Not employed	Not employed	part-time	Not employed

In Korea, the probability for women of the participating mothers' age to be employed outside of their home is 21.3 %, whereas it is 60.4 % in Canada.[17] Representing this national trend in each country, the participating Korean mothers were all housewives. Charles' mother had her own career before the children were born. At the time of the participation, she remained a housewife, although she was planning to have a job outside the home once the children are grown up. David's mother had a part-time job, working outside the home for three days a week.

Number of children

Table 5
The Number of Children in Each Family

Korean			Canadian		
Woojin	Gisuk	G.M.	David	Charles	G.M.
2	2	2	2	2	2

In Korea, the number of children in a family whose mothers are aged between 30 and 34 is 2.02 - 2.27. This is when the parents' schooling years are over 9. The two-children-family is a result of a Family Planning measure observed by most of the Koreans.

In Canada, at the national level, in 1986, the size of the family was recorded as 3.1 persons per family. In Alberta, the figure is slightly higher than the national level, being 3.2 per family. Considering that the traditional husband-wife families are still counted in the majority, 81.6 %, the average number of children per family in Canada is over 1.

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[17] Source: Woman and the Canadian Labor Force, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The Canadian data represent the situation in early 1980. An increased percentage is expected in current days.

The participating Canadian families had more children than the national average, there being 2 children in each family. Both groups were matched in the number of children in the family, and except for Charles, the remaining three participating children were all the first children in the family.

Children's linguistic ability

Brown (1974) noted that the mean length of utterance (MLU) was an excellent index of the child's grammatical development. According to him, "almost every new kind of knowledge increases length" (Brown, 1974, p. 53). So, MLU was taken to check the basic linguistic ability of the participating children. Brown's (1974) rules were adopted as a major criterion for calculation of MLU.

[1] Only fully transcribed utterances are used.
[2] Include all exact utterance repetitions (in the present study, the repeated words are counted only once).[18]
[3] Do not count such fillers as *mm*, or *oh*, but do count *no, yeah, hi*.
[4] All compound words, proper names, ritualized reduplications count as single words.
[5] Count as one morphemes all irregular parts of the verb.
[6] Count as one morpheme all diminuitives (e.g., *doggie, mommi*).
[7] Count as separate morphemes all auxiliaries (e.g., will, should, must...etc.). (In Korean cases, the verbs were analyzed into verb root, and the tense suffixes, and they all counted as separate morphemes.[19]

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[18] The parentheses contain the modifications made for the specific needs of the present research.

[19] 갔었다 = 2 morphemes.

Children's utterances were randomly sampled, and submitted to MLU calculation procedure. There were no significant group differences.

Table 6
The Children's MLU

	Korean		Canadian		
	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles	Z score
T.N.R.[1]	372	597	501	620	
MLU	4.5	5.5	4.3	4.3	1.4

[1] Total number of utterances reviewed.

Individual descriptions

Korean family: Woojin

General profile of the family

Woojin's family was introduced to me through a kindergarten where Woojin's sister was attending. Upon my request, the director of the kindergarten contacted the eligible candidates.[20] Woojin's mother showed an interest and was introduced to the researcher, who informed her of more details of the research. As she consented to all the conditions involved,[21] she was accepted.

Woojin's family consisted of the parents, an older sister and Woojin. The father ran a wholesale chicken business. Although two employees assisted him with deliveries, occasionally the mother and the father made deliveries by themselves. The business earned them a moderately comfortable standard of living. Their estimated monthly income was over the national average.

The family owned a private house with 3 bedrooms. It was a typical Korean house which did not include the kitchen and bathroom inside the house. During winter, general washing and laundry were done in the kitchen area, which always had a source of heat and hot water. While the kitchen was the centre for house chores such as washing and cooking, the parents' room served the multipurpose of sleeping, receiving guests, or the child's playing. Such functional undifferentiation of the house is typical of most Korean houses like Woojin's.

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[20] In getting the Korean participants, there was always a mediator who first contacted candidate families to inquire about their interest in the research. Korean people tend to say yes even when the request is not quite agreeable. The indirect communication system was adopted to avoid any unwilling participation caused by this cultural tendency.

[21] See Appendix 2.

The house was located in the east side of the city of Seoul, Myun-Mok-Dong. The area was populated with middle to lower middle class households. It was the area easily recognized by the Seoul citizens as one of the typical residential areas of "ordinary" people. The houses were built with no open space in between, and the physical proximity between the houses allowed the neighbors to become psychologically akin to each other as a big family. The children in the neighborhood visit each other's houses at any time as if they were their own, and the adults in the neighborhood know one another very well. This living arrangement encouraged frequent visitations of the neighborhood children and the mothers, without prior notice.

The child

Woojin is 4 years and 4 months old, and lives with his 6 year old sister and parents in Seoul, where he was born. He stays home, and is going to attend a kindergarten the following year.

As a daily routine, he gets up at 9 or 10 o'clock. He doesn't have any imposed time for getting up. His mother and sister usually join him for breakfast. As in any other Korean family, the father goes out to work early in the morning, leaving the the mother to be a the major caregiver throughout the day. Woojin doesn't require constant care from the mother. He spends most of the time watching TV or playing either by himself or with his friends. The mother's main responsibility is to ensure that he is physically and psychologically safe and stable. Woojin's mother has one "quality-time" activity sharing with Woojin, a bead-string game, which the mother introduces to improve his hand coordination.

Woojin does not have a fixed time for lunch. It usually comes after the mother delivers the chickens at 2 o'clock. Assuming he will be fed when the mother comes back home, he doesn't have a specific concept such as a lunch hour. The mother does not feel any pressure to keep a fixed lunch schedule. The children are assumed by the mother to be well taken care of according to the mother's schedule. It is after all the mother who is in charge of and most concerned with the child care. Woojin's afternoon activity is no different from that in the morning. In summer time, he goes out to play with his friends in the neighborhood, or the friends are brought into the house. It is very common to have one or two friends with him.

In the evening, the whole family gets together and has supper around 8 o'clock. The evening hours are spent watching TV or playing a family game. Since all of the evening acitivities occur in the parents' room, and the children sleep in the same room, the children spend all of the evening with the parents and go to bed when the parents do. The children's activities are synchronized with the parents', with no clear distinction between the parents and the children in sharing the space and activity. The family has a separate room for the children, but during the winter, to save the heating cost, the mother brings the children to the parents' room and closes the children's room. It is culturally permissible for the parents to allow the children to sleep with them. The children's status as "care-receivers" endows them with the right to intervene in the parents' private space. As caregivers, the parents readily endure any inconveniences created by the children's presence.

The mother

The mother is 34 years old, and born in Kyung-Sang province, south of Seoul. Her family was rural middle class which strictly adhered to Confucian traditions, of which the province had been traditionally a mecca. This particular cultural atmosphere of her early childhood has left significant impacts on her life. Her education was limited to high school, because her parents did not see any need of a college education for a girl. Her conception of human relationships was confined to the traditional teaching. The wife's submissive position to the husband, according to her understanding, is justifiable, because the peace in the family can be secured in that way, and the peaceful family life is believed to be more important than an assertion of her personal individual right.

Her role as a mother is also perceived within the traditional framework. She appeared almost obsessed with her role as a major caregiver for the children. Her concerns with the children's education were, for intance, centred upon thinking what she can do for the children's best future. Such concerns had led her to be equipped with valuable information about kindergartens in the neighborhood, for which the other mothers often visited her. Her fervent effort to provide the best educational environment for the children does not allow her to freely pass the information to just any mother. She shared the information with only those who were personally close to her. The approach was thought to prevent the favorable kindergartens from becoming too crowded.

Besides, she had a belief that the children would mirror her behavior and speech. So she took special care with her own behavior, trying to avoid having quarrels with her husband when the children were present. When the children misbehaved, she felt the need for sharing the responsibility, and looked towards herself before scolding the children. This implicit theory of modelling was partly supported by the director of the kindergarten. The director emphasized the role of the mothers in educating the children and kept on telling the mothers to be aware of their own behavior and speech. Woojin's mother found that the advice was agreeable and tried to live up to this educational premise.

On the whole, she was a very typical Korean mother, influenced by all the cultural mores, such as the women's submissive human relationship, or the educational fever in Korea, which are shared by many other Korean mothers and housewives. Her overwhelming awareness of her role as a sole provider or caregiver for the children's welfare leaves no doubt in her qualification as one of the most typical Korean mothers.

Korean family: Gisuk

General profile of the family

Gisuk's mother was known to the researcher through the mother's friend in a Catholic church, who also knew the researcher and the project. This friend initially contacted the mother regarding her interest in the research. As the mother was willing to participate, the researcher was introduced to the mother and informed her of more details. The reason the mother decided to participate in the research was that she could take a great pleasure and pride in helping with a scholarly project. It was thought that the Korean cultural propensity for honoring scholars and scholaric efforts facilitated her agreement to the participation request.

The family can be portrayed as one of the typical middle-class nuclear families. The father had a college education, and worked as a construction manager. His monthly income was above the national average. The family owned an apartment with 3 bedrooms located in a hillside of a mountain north-east of the city, Se-Kum-Jung. The area is well known for its contrasting two classes of residents. The upper part of the hill is populated by the wealthy, whereas the less fortunate live at the foot of the hill. Gisuk's family was located in the middle between the two ends, being socio-economically the middle as well.

The apartment was furnished with modern facilities such as a central heating system. In Woojin's house the parents' room served as a multi-purpose room for playing, eating, and sleeping, but Gisuk's house was more functionally differentiated. There were separate rooms for eating, sleeping, receiving guests, and washing. The children slept in their own room, and the parents' room was reserved only for the parents. Most of the family activities occurred in the living room.

However, Gisuk's residence in the apartment was no different from Woojin's life in a private house in its effect on Gisuk's formation of social circle. Those children living in the units close to Gisuk's were all Gisuk's friends, and visited Gisuk's unit at almost any time. The friends were often called by Gisuk's mother to provide company for Gisuk. The friends' mothers also know and freely visit one another.

The child

Gisuk was a boy born in January, 1984, in Seoul. He had a sister, who was 2 years older. Like Woojin, Gisuk wasn't attending any kindergarten, but the mother had plans to send him to an art school for young children the coming March.

He was very much like Woojin in his personality: cheerful but shy with strangers. When I went to his house to meet the mother and him for the first time, he came to the door to greet me, but tended to retire to his room afterwards. He answered politely and competently when asked a question, but didn't show many communicative initiations on his part.

As his daily routine, he gets up around 8 o'clock and has breakfast with the mother and the sister. The father goes to work early in the morning and misses the breakfast with the family. After breakfast, the sister goes to the kindergarten, and Gisuk is left alone to spend his morning watching the children's programs on TV. When not watching TV, he plays with his chum, Jaeho, who lives next door.

When the sister returns from the kindergarten, the mother, Gisuk, and the sister get together for lunch. For the lunch menu, sandwiches are often served, instead of cooked rice and side orders, which are typical of every Korean meal. After lunch, the sister has to spend some time practicing her piano lesson, so Gisuk plays with his friends again. When the sister is available, she is the preferred playmate.

In the evening the father is major company for Gisuk. They play a lot of physical games, such as wrestling. While the father spends time with the children, the mother is freed from her day-long caregiver role and finds time to do other housework. After the playing and watching TV, Gisuk joins the whole family to have supper. The rest of the evening hours are spent freely playing with the family. Gisuk has a room shared with his sister, and sleeps in that room with the sister.

The mother

Gisuk's mother was a full time housewife aged 33. She was born, raised, and educated in Seoul. Her family was an upper middle class family residing in Hyo-Ja-Dong, an affluent residential area in Seoul, which was previously inhabitated by high government officials and aristocratic members of the palace. Unlike the "nouveau-riche" who are living in other parts of the city, those in Hyo-Ja-Dong are often distinguished by their relatively strong attachment to the cultural values entertained and preserved by the aristocratic class of the last Yi dynasty. Gisuk's grandmother was no exception. She educated her daughters according to Confucian teaching. The emphasis of Gisuk's mother on some of the "antiquated" ideas is a result of such her own upbringing.

Gisuk's mother once said she did not feel any conflict in devoting herself as a full-time housewife at the expense of her career pursuit. She was fully convinced of the importance of her role and position as a home maker for the welfare of the family. The traditional upbringing had culminated in her awareness of her role as the most important educator for the children. Believing that the children would reflect her behavior, Gisuk's mother took extra care with her behavior and speech. She was especially concerned with the use of deferential forms of speech, and made a special effort to speak in polite forms to the husband so that Gisuk and the sister would model this general speech pattern.[22] In fact, Gisuk and his sister were observed using polite forms of speech whenever it was directed to adults, and the mother was observed taking a constant notice of the children's failure with this speech manner.

Her concern with the children's education goes beyond speech training at home. Twice a week, Gisuk is taken to a private kindergarten lesson by the mother. Unlike other similar programs, the program admits only a small number of children and requires the mothers' participation as an essential part of the class lesson. Not only is Gisuk's mother an active participant during the class, she also makes a point of reviewing the material with Gisuk at home after the class. Besides, she makes a special effort to provide integrated social experiences for the children. For instance, the mother placed Gisuk's elder sister in a public school, in spite of the fact that there is one well-known private school just next to her home. Her intention was to expose the child to every aspect of the society and to help her have an integrated view of the society. Her deep concern with the children's development made her brave people's possibly degrading perception of her socio-economic status.

Like Woojin's mother, Gisuk's mother was a product of the Korean society, which emphasizes the role of mother as the most significant caregiver to the child. Her own upbringing and the overall cultural tendency of the Korean society are the key factors to her definition of the role of mother.

Canadian family: David

General profile of the family

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[22] Among young couples in Korea, it becomes more or less acceptable for the wife not to use the high level of honorifics to the husband. It is a kind of sociolinguistic trend, one which is often decried by the older generation.

The mother responded to an advertisement placed in a local newspaper for participants. She was informed of the detailed conditions to be met, and as she fitted into most of the descriptive categories[23] of the mother participant, and once she consented to all of the recording conditions, she was accepted.

David's family consisted of his older, 6 year old brother, and his parents. The father, an office manager, was born in England and moved to Canada when he was 12 years old. His English background gave him a strict manner of child discipline. For example, he has little patience with the children's wild behavior in the house, such as shouting, jumping, or screaming. The mother compensates against this belief of her husband's by allowing the children to be "wild" while the father is not home.

The family lived in a private house located in the north-east of the town, Norwood. Unlike the neighborhood in Korea, the houses were separated with a certain amount of space in between, and there were not many interactions between the neighbors observed from the street. David had a close friend, Jane, who was not from his neighborhood. Jane was a daughter of a friend of David's mother, and whenever she visited David, the mothers had to make an appointment, and Jane's mother drove her to David's house. There was no such free-flow of friends as in Woojin and Gisuk's neighborhoods.

David's house had 2 bedrooms: one for the parents and one for the children, and the children were given separate beds. Although they were allowed to come to the parents' room in the morning to play with the parents while they were in bed, the children were kept in their separate bedroom for sleeping. For common activities such as eating or watching TV, they use the common areas designated for such purposes, that is, the kitchen and living areas. In constrast with Woojin's case where the parents' room served for the child's daily activities such as playing or drawing, David used the kitchen table, one of the common areas, for such purposes. In any case, the parents' room was not open for daily family activities. The life style and the arrangement of the house were made in such a way that individual privacy was strictly maintained.

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[23] These were: mother's age, years of schooling, employment status, family's annual income, and number of children. Efforts were made to select mothers who were close to the national means of each category.

The child

David turned 4 years old in August, 1987, and lives in Edmonton, where he was born. He is the second son of the family and has one older brother, who was 7 years old. David didn't attend kindergarten or playschool and stayed home all the time. The mother noted that she did not see any need to send him to a daycare, because he was going to be attending a kindergarten in the following year. She considered that her own care in the home environment, which emphasized affectionate interaction with the child, was more important than any head-start in an academic subject benefitted from formal attendance in an institution.

The mother said that David is a "quiet" child. That statement was confirmed by the researcher's own observation. When she visited his home, he answered the door, but soon retired to his own activities, and did not initiate much communication. As far as his personality was concerned, David was similar to the two Korean children, Woojin and Gisuk, who also had a certain degree of shyness in their otherwise pleasant and cheerful interaction with people.

His daily routine starts between 7:30 and 8:00 am, when the parents get up. The mother makes a point of having the whole family together for breakfast. David, who is the only one in the family that does not have a particular reason to get up at that time, is also urged by the mother to synchronize his schedule with the others. This is due, in part, to the fact that the mother, who has a part-time job, has a rather tight schedule for her daily activities, and needs to maximize her work by following a fixed schedule. In contrast to Woojin's family, the mother keeps a fixed schedule, and David is requested to follow the rules of the house.

Most of his time during the day is spent playing or watching TV, and his friend named Jane often spends time with him. Unlike the Korean cases, where the children can visit one another at any time with no prior notice made by the mothers, Jane's visit is always a prearranged one: Jane's mother informs David's mother of her visit and asks if that is possible. David's social life is formalized through the adults' checking of a possible intrusion into the private life of the visited family. It appears that playing with friends, an etic concept observed in both cultures, needs to be specifically accounted for by emic concepts, the individually unique structure of the activity in the respective cultures.

The need for the two conceptual distinctions is also found in the children's evening activity. As with the two Korean families, David's family has supper when the father comes home. The evening schedule is largely dependent upon the father, and in both cultures, the father's involvement highlights the evening family hours. It is also common to both cultures that the evening hours include playing games or some kind of getting-together activities. Such family get-togethers in the Korean culture are a rather spontaneous events resulting from the functional undifferentiation of the house which naturally brings the whole family together into the parents' room and allows them to slip into some kind of co-activities. The same kind of activity in the Canadian family occurs in a consciously constructed interactional context. The kinds of games to play are selected by the mother, and the parents are fully conscious of the educational value of such activities for the development of social skills and manners of the children. While the evening family hours are an etic concept common to both cultures, the underlying mechanisms and purposes of the activities vary across the cultures, and can be explained only by culture-specific emic properties.

The mother

The mother was born in Edmonton, Alberta. Her own parents are also from Alberta, and being asked her ethnic background, she, with no hesitation, identified herself as a Canadian. Although she was proud of herself being an "original" Canadian, there was some hesitation to entitle the family with a Canadian background. It was because the father had an English background, and the family maintained some of the English customs in their daily life. For instance, David called his grandmother nanny. But this ethnic background of the family did not mean much to the children, who were born and socialized in the Canadian society. The elder brother, Joe, the mother noted, being asked his ethnic background, asserted that he was a Canadian.

The mother's major socialization goal was to bring the children up to be socially nice people who were sociable, caring for others, and freely expressive. She placed particular stress on the children's free expression of their ideas, feelings, and needs. She couldn't agree with the father who was somewhat intolerant of the children making "noise" in the house. According to her understanding, children should be permitted to freely express their ideas and feelings, to some extent. She not only encouraged the child to be expressive, but also openly expressed her own feelings. For instance, she did a lot of hugging and kissing to express her love for her children. To her, explicit expressions are the only way through which ideas or feelings are communicated to the others. She found it puzzling to see oriental parents, who were often known for their selflessly devoted love and care for their children, not have much physical contact such as kissing or hugging to express their emotions towards their children. Her belief was that when both the children and the parents had their own opinions or feelings, they had all the right to express them and to let others know about them.

In relation to this, she was convinced that the children should be allowed to be children, young members of the society. She thought that the children were still incompetent members of the community failing to observe the rules of the adults' world. Instead of expecting and demanding the children to follow the parents' idea, she argued that the parents should adjust themselves to the demands of the children's world. In eating out, for instance, she objected to the adults' conversation after the meal and insisted on hurrying home, because she believed that the children could not withstand an hour of adults' conversation at the end of the meal.

An important point to make here is that the perception of David's mother about children and their limited psychological world is qualitatively different from that of the two Korean mothers, who also assumed the children's dependence on the adults. What underlies the child-centred thinking of David's mother is the child's right to be an independent member of the family, and therefore to be respected in that particular regard. Just as the adults are entitled to exercise their authority as more competent members of the community, the children should be given the same opportunity to exercise their individual rights. They should be allowed to express their ideas and feelings, and pardoned for any possible interruption of the adults' life. In contrast, the Korean mothers do not focus on the children's individual rights. What concerns the Korean mothers most is the children's "yet-to-be-sophisticated" psychosocial state. When the children's immaturiy is what is focused on by the mothers, the mothers comes to assume rather heavily weighted child-caring responsibility on their part, and the perception of the children as an independent individual becomes a even more foreign idea.

Confirming her stress on the person's individuality, David's mother did not fail to mention her own career development. While she was truly a devoted mother to her children, her own career and self-development were as important to her as her role as a mother. She said she did not want to be left with nothing to do when the children grew up. An expectation was there for a possibly reduced significance of her role as a caregiver, and her psychological preparation for this later phase of her life was already being undertaken. Such issues as the mother's self-development or career development were, on the other hand, absent in the Korea mothers. They were never observed presenting and perceiving themselves as anything other than caregivers of the children. Furthermore, the Korean mothers' assumed role of caregiver covered a longer period of time until the children's marriage, compared with the puberty, in the case of David's mother. While the Korean mothers put a priority on their role as mothers, to David's mother, such a caregiver role is at best one constituent of the whole of her independent individuality.

Canadian family: Charles

General profile of the family

The family was introduced to me through the director of Charles' child care centre. Given the mother's name and phone number, the researcher directly contacted the mother and informed her of all the involved procedures of the research. As she agreed to all the conditions of the participants, she was accepted.

Charles' family consisted of his younger sister, who was one year old, and the parents. The father came from Holland 11 years ago. His restaurant business earned the family an upper middle class standard of living. While his business kept him away from home most of the time and left him relatively little time to be concerned with the child rearing at home, his European style of child discipline often created conflict with the mother. He, for instance, advocated harsh punishment upon Charles' misbehaving. His justification was that in Holland the children were encouraged to be mature from an early age. The mother has an extra burden in her caregiver role to find compromise with the father's insistence on such a strict method.

Charles' house was located in the south side of the city, Malmo Plains. The area was a middle class neighborhood. As with David's neighborhood, the area was quiet and not many interactions among the neighbors were seen from the street. During the participation period, no visitors or friends of the mother or the child from the neighborhood were observed. Charles' friends were mostly those in the day care centre where he went for half a day. Since those children in the centre were from various parts of the city, unless there was a special occasion like a birthday, they were seldom invited to Charles' house to play. Charles' friend, Robert, who was the only friend of Charles visiting him during the research, was also not from the neighborhood. They became friends, because the parents were friends. The social circles of both David and Charles were formulated through the parents' involvement, whereas in Korea, the openness among the neighborhood provided a relatively natural base for the socialization of the children.

Charles' life style was not only formalized, but also highly individualized. The house provided each member with his/her own room. Charles' room was furnished with his own bed, desk, chair, and toy stacks. Individual places were designated in a common area such as the kitchen. Charles had his own cup, spoon, and plate, and had his own place and chair at the table. One spacious corner of the basement was reserved for Charles' playing, and when he wanted to play with his toys, it was suggested that he go either to the basement or to his own room, but not to any other place in the house. Except for one time when Charles watched a video on the TV placed in the parents' bedroom, he was not observed using the room for his daily activities. Like in David's house, there was a strict differentiation of the living space, and Charles was socialized to learn how to observe this differentiation rule in his living space.

The child

Charles was a 4 year old boy born in Edmonton in 1983. He was attending a day care centre at the University of Alberta, and his "formal" education started when he was 2 years old. The mother, who was seeking more professional care for her son from this early period, enrolled him in a neighborhood daycare centre. During this period, Charles was found to have a relatively high IQ score. The discovery of Charles' intellectual ability pressured the mother to search for a better place for her son's education. The University centre was the solution, and at the time of participation, Charles had been going to the centre for over a year.

In contrast to the other three participating children, Charles was relatively talkative and outwardly friendly with the researcher. When she arrived at his house for the first time, he greeted her readily and even invited her to participate in his play, whereas the other three children tended to retire to their own work or room after greeting the researcher. His friendliness seemed to have something to do with his willingness to talk with people. Having had many books read to him by his parents, he was very imaginative and always had something to talk about. Particularly, his imaginary friend Vicky conjured up endless stories, and urged him to let other people know about this "important person" in his world.

His daily routine is no different from that of the other three children, except for his half-day attendance at the centre. He gets up at 7 o'clock, and later joins his mother and little sister for breakfast. The father's business usually keeps the father away from family meals, and Charles was so used to this kind of family life that one time when he heard that the father would come home for supper he expressed surprise. With his mother and sister around, Charles spends his morning hours watching children's programs on TV, before being taken to the centre by his mother.

During the day he is usually the "centre of attention," and comes home tired and does not get involved in much activity during the rest of the afternoon. Even when he does, he always plays alone. The mother stays home with him all the time to attend to his various needs, but is not intensively involved in Charles' play. There were, however, some specific activities which both the mother and the child participated in together. These were usually what the mother initiated with a special educational purpose in mind. Crafting, carving, or some other types of housework such as cleaning or cooking are examples of these activities.

In fact, as far as these planned activities were concerned, the Canadian mothers were far more active than their Korean counterparts. There was a clear distinction between the child's lone playing and the mother-involved educational playing. When it came to the latter type of activity, the Canadian mothers made an effort to distinguish it from the rest of the child's activities. This distinction was made by the mothers' pre-announcement of the plan and some preparatory behaviors. For example, in making a leaf picture, Charles' mother announced the plan to the child beforehand so that the child anticipated the event as part of his schedule. When the child's other activities conflict with this plan, the conflict had to be resolved through a negotiative process. The activity itself was also so structured that it had three phases of preparation, actual making, and cleaning, and the child was strictly instructed to follow the rule. Differentiation of the particularity of the specific situation was clearly known to the child through various channels.

It was not only the activities that were run on a differentiation process. The child's daily routine itself was differentiated in terms of time and content. For example, his bed time was set at 9 o'clock. Regardless of Charles' physical or psychological state at this hour, the time was set for him to go to bed, and he had to observe this differentiated time set of his daily routine. Also, at his bedtime, he was expected to be read bedtime stories by his mother. Since it was also a rule at bedtime to be read a book, when his mother could not observe this rule on her part, she had to make it explicit to the child why the rule could not be observed. The formalized and differentiated life style of the child required many explanations, explicit communications, and negotiative processes between the mother and the child.

Mother

Charles' mother was born, grew up and educated in Alberta. Mentioning her own mother's being born a Canadian, she was, by her own account, an "original" Canadian.

One of her major concerns with her child was to provide him with a good education so that he would be fully qualified to be a competent member of the society when he grew up. The child's self-esteem was also mentioned as one of the significant concepts that had to be fostered through the mother's rearing practice. Alarmed by the high rise of the teenage suicidal rate, she saw it one of her major responsibility to secure a stable psychological development for the child. A notable thing was that the mother viewed good education and a stable personality as key factors for the child to function as an individual in the society. In other words, those were regarded as indispensible conditions for the child to become a fully functioning member of the society. Although the Korean mothers, too, recognized the importance of those properties, they did not conceive of them as necessary for the child to become a cultured **independent** member of the society. A concept of the child as an independent member of society is a foreign concept to the Korean mothers.

The contrast between the two groups of mothers in their different perceptions of their roles in the family was as great as the differences in their views of the children. The two Korean mothers camouflaged their presence in the family with their homemaker roles. The mothers' individual concerns soon passed under the societal pressure to conform. But in the case of Charles' mother, her position as a homemaker remained a constant source of her personal frustration. For instance, she admitted that it still remained a regret to her that she had to leave her university education behind upon Charles' birth. Although she believed that it was a wise choice, her incomplete education often got in her way of a more promising and challenging job field, and she was not happy to see the opportunities for her individual growth disappear.

Charles' mother experienced personal conflict. On the one hand, there were the traditional responsibilities. On the other hand, being fairly well, she sometimes wondered about her personal fate. One sees here perhaps the beginning of the type of alienation so widely reported by Western women caught up on the dual problem of cultural constraint and personal ambition.

B. Data Collection

The initial pilot study allowed the researcher to identify certain thematic progress categories. The present data collection allowed the researcher, 1) to verify their authenticity, 2) to make modifications to them if necessary. As it turned out, the modifications were more in terms of detail than of substance. The pilot study also allowed the researcher to gather the data on prolonged single visitations to each site.

Recording procedures

Pre-sessions

Each mother-child pair had one pre-session and 15 video-taping sessions. For a pre-session interview, the researcher visited the family's home and introduced herself in person to the mother and the child. A letter that outlined and authorized the research was released to the mother from one of the thesis committee members. Other documents that formally identified the researcher were also presented to the mother.[24]

The main purpose of the pre-session was to inform the mother of more details of the research and to make her familiar with the procedure. Establishment of rapport with the mother was a primary concern. In an attempt to attain this trustful relationship, the mother was told at some length about the research. She knew that the research involved a cross-cultural comparison of child socialization processes and was concerned with communicative interaction.

The researcher also made sure to familiarize herself with the children and to gain their confidence. They were asked their names and generally engaged in ordinary conversation with the researcher. They were also told that the researcher was interested in knowing how they played and acted in their daily life. Not being very interested in what the main purpose of the participation was, the children looked amused with the fact that someone would come regularly to see and take pictures of them.[25] The pre-session ended with having the mother sign a consent form that the researcher had brought to formalize the participation.[26]

After discussing the date and time for the first session, the researcher thanked the mother and departed.

Recording sessions

Each recording session consisted of three parts: a brief pre-recording conversation, video-taping, and general discussion. During the pre-recording conversation, the researcher was usually briefed as to what had been going on before her arrival. This conversation was managed as briefly as possible, so that the activity in which the mother-child dyad was engaged was not interrupted. While the mother and the child continued with their activity, the researcher set up the camera, and taping slipped in as part of the ongoing activities.

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[24] See Appendix 1.

[25] The children's initial attention to this "picture-taking" event did not cause any distraction to them during the recording. Although they were delighted to see themselves replayed in the monitor, during the recording, they did not look disturbed with the picture-taking procedure.

[26] See Appendix 2.

When one of the dyad left the recording scene, the researcher remained in the original location. But when both mother and child moved to another place, they were followed by the camera. In following them, the researcher made sure that a certain distance was maintained from them so as to minimize the obtrusiveness of the camera. When the mother or the child directed and spoke to the researcher, she responded appropriately, but minimally. Such partial participation of the researcher was felt necessary to create a more natural context for them. The taping lasted for 30 minutes per session. Even when the data collected were scanty, no extra time was permitted.

When the taping was over, the mother and the researcher usually sat together to chat or discuss a variety of things. The conversation was normally centred upon the day's recorded activity and other related general concerns about child rearing. These after-session discussions or talks were invaluable in understanding the recorded activities as well as the mother and the child in general. These conversations were all summarized as observational notes for the sessions.

Activities

As the main purpose of the research was to look at the natural communicative events in the child's daily life, no specific instructions were given to the mother regarding the specific contents of the activities to be recorded. But the mothers' psychosocial topography can vary with the types of activities in which they were engaged. So the researcher had to determine the types of recorded activities in terms of the interactional intensity, the degree to which the mother and child collaboratively interacted. The mothers were guided in this regard.

Mothers were told that there were by and large 3 types of activities to be recorded and that it would be desirable if 5 sessions could be proportionately alloted to each type of activity. All of the participating mothers said that they would prefer to be briefed on how the sessions had progressed in regard to each activity. The mothers were provided with this information, so that they did not overdo one type of activity.

The 3 types of activities were distinguished by the intensity of the interaction required. The first type was named Highly Structured (HS) activities. HS activities referred to those in which both the mother and the child focused upon one particular task and were engaged in a highly **collaborative** interaction. Book-readings, paper-construction, cooking, or baking, were examples. A HS situation must entail a specific task for the mother and the child to jointly accomplish.

The second type of activity was called Semi-Structured (SS) activities. Here, the mother and the child were not engaged in a **specific** task to complete, but in a potentially communicative context. Communication during meal times was a good example. Here the possibility for an onset of interaction was high, although there was no specific task requiring intensively collaborative efforts from the two parties. SS activities are analogous to Hymes' concept of "speech situation." The last type was Loosely-Structured (LS) activities. Here the mother and the child might be engaged in separate activities, and occasionally come to interact. For example, while the child was playing with toys, the mother might be doing ironing or cooking, and interaction occurred when the child invited the mother to attend to his activities, or when the mother noticed a problem and spontaneously came to interfere with and comment on the child's activities. The activities recorded in each mother-child dyad are as follows:

Table 7
The Types of Activities Recorded in Each Family.

	Korean		Canadian	
	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
Highly Structured	Games(8)[1]	Reading(6)	coloring(3)	carving(1)
	games(11)	reading(7)	baking(4)	baking(3)
	reading(12)	Origamy(8)	games(7)	playdoh(5)
	cooking(14)	playdoh(10)	reading(8)	reading(10)
	coloring(15)	playdoh(11)	baking(12)	games(13)
Semi Structured	cleaning(1)	meal(2)	T.V.(2)[2]	meal(2)
	meal(3)	washing(12)	meal(6)	meal(4)
	talk(6)	snacking(13)	T.V.(11)	cleaning(7)
	washing(9)	dressing(14)	cleaning(14)	play(14)
	dressing(10)	Origamy(15)	bathing(15)	cleaning(15)
Loosely Structured	play(2)	play(1)	painting(1)	eating(6)
	play(4)	play(3)	painting(5)	play(8)

	play(5)	play(4)	painting(9)	eating(9)
	play(7)	T.V.(5)	coloring(10)	playing(11)
	play(13)	drawing(9)	play(13)	play(12)
	play(15)			
T.S.T.[3]	15	15	14	15

[1] The session number.
[2] Due to the technical fault, the session could not be transcribed, and was deleted.
[3] The total number of sessions transcribed.

Temporal factors

The selection of times of recording was the function of various factors. Firstly, efforts were made to choose times during which other members of the family were not present. These were, for all the families, mostly between morning hours after the father and the older siblings went to work and to school, and the supper time. If the siblings or the children's friends happened to be present, however, they were allowed to stay in the scenes.[27]

Secondly, recording times were shifted to appropriate zones when a specific type of activity was taped. For instance, as a Semi-Structured type of activity, the child's washing his face, getting dressed, and making the bed were taped in all the participating dyads. For those activities, a visit had to be made rather early in the morning when the child was doing those as part of his natural daily routine. On the whole, as long as the researcher could keep up with the number of sessions assigned to each type of activity, no specific demands were made as to when to carry out the sessions. Rather, efforts were made to keep the participating mother and child at ease.

With regard to the frequency of the researcher's visits, the mother was told, during the pre-session, that the optimal frequency would be twice a week. This scheduling was suggested to make the observation of each mother-child dyad at least over a two month period of time. Appropriate changes had to be made, however. For example, In Charles' case, the taping had to be discontinued for two weeks due to the recurrence of a throat problem. In such cases, there were rather long temporal gaps between sessions. On the other hand, even though the participants were at their best for the sessions, no more than 3 sessions were made a week. The intention behind this spaced scheduling was to observe the participants under various conditions over a considerable length of time.

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[27] The number of sessions in each family in which an extra interactant was present is as follows: Woojin, 9; Gisuk, 5; David, 6; Charles, 6. In the actual analyses, the interactions between the child and his friends, or between the mother and the others rather than the participating child, were omitted.

Equipment

The video camera was a portable Camcorder which contained a unified camera, recorder, and monitor. It also had a built-in microphone. An extended extra microphone was used to maintain the maximum distance from the mother and the child. The microphone looked like a filing card and functioned to absorb all the sounds that were reflected on the surface on which it was placed. It permitted the researcher to record even the breathing sound of the participants or any noise made on the surface by the participants.

The automatic focus provided the researcher with extra flexibility in shooting, making it possible to catch clear pictures of every movement. The attached zoom lens also enabled the researcher to get the whole picture of the scenes even at greater distance. Furthermore, the automatic close-up button could elaborate a specific part of the picture without actually approaching the subjects. The best feature of the machine was its size, which took up only a negligible space in the context, and thereby helped minimize the obtrusiveness.

Transcription

The recorded sessions were immediately transcribed following each session. Both verbal and nonverbal communication were transcribed. Other contextual information, which was deemed essential in understanding the utterances, was also included. The transcriptions were initially done by the researcher and cross-examined by native speakers of each language. A third year education student in Korea assisted with the Korean data, and a U of A education student reviewed the Canadian data. The re-checking procedure did not cover the whole corpus of data. Instead, 3 sessions were selected from each mother-child dyad, one session being drawn from each type of activity[28] The levels of agreement in transcriptions are presented below.[29]

Table 8
The Levels of Agreement in Transcription

	Korean		Canadian	
	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
T.N.R.[1]	880	1293	1107	1508
Agreement	98%	98%	95%	96%

[1] Total number of utterances reviewed.

The daily communicative data were collected from the participating mothers and children in both cultures as the first step to investigate the cultural difference in psychosocial dynamics. The notion of thematic progress initially served as a guiding function. The subsequent endeavors focused on the clarification of the understanding which emerged from the application of the thematic progress categories in each culture. Those endeavors included searches for other communicative frameworks which could enhance the emerging understandings of the cultural differences and similarities in psychosocial dynamics. The following is a description of how the successive searches were made and what the differences and similarities are.

C. Analyses

Search for unit of analysis

The first step to analyze the data was to determine the basic unit of analysis. Without this knowledge, the communicative data could not be properly organized. The nature of this knowledge was concerned with how to conceptualize the communicative exchanges made by the mother and the child to make possible examination of the psychosocial dynamics between them.

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[28] These sessions also served the sampling sessions of other subsequent cross-checks of the scoring procedures.

[29] For a sample of transcription, see Appendix 3.

Utterance

The notion of thematic progress, which was proposed as an initial communicative feature to the study of psychosocial dynamics, assumed an utterance as a basic unit of speech. Problems with this utterance-based concept of thematic progress become evident when one considers the fact that the communicative exchanges made by the mother and the child often consist of more than one utterance. For example, consider the following conversation.

C:(a) I don't like cheese,
  (b) I didn't eat that cauliflower with cheese yesterday.
M:(c) Yeah, you left all of them.

When we take an utterance as the basic unit of speech, a problem arises as to which utterances of the child's talk should be taken as a triggering utterance of the mother's utterance (C). Thematically speaking, (b) is the one to which the mother's utterance is directed and responded. And the pair of turns, (b) - (c), is where the psychosocial dynamic between the mother and the child can be examined. But unless the unit of analysis is defined otherwise, the child's utterance (a) cannot be simply disregarded, because it is also an utterance consisting of the child's turn of communication.

A more serious problem can occur in a situation such as:

C: I didn't eat that cauliflower with cheese yesterday.
M:(a) Yeah, you didn't eat at all,
  (b) you know that you should eat good food,
  (c) it is good for your body.

The mother's three utterances, (a), (b), and (c), are all related to the child's utterance. If each utterance is hypothesized as the basic unit, a problem arises as to whether the mother's response should be considered as three individual events, or as one single event. The first case will focus on the individual occurrences, whereas the latter focuses on the thematic unity among the separate utterances.

Move

Goffman's suggestion for these problems would be to switch to the notion of *move*. Move is "any full stretch of talk or of its substitutes which had a distinctive unitary bearing on some set or other of the circumstances" (Goffman, 1981, p. 24). A move is not necessarily restricted to one turn, although it could coincide with one turn. One move could be stretched over different turns. An example would be:

C:(a) I don't like cheese.
M:(b) That's no good.
C:(c) But I can eat pizza.
M:(d) Yeah..but you should also eat cheese in cauliflower.
C:(e) If you make it today, I'll try.
M:(f) That's good.

The child makes a thematic change in utterance (e). It is a thematic move on the part of the child from the fact that he doesn't eat cheese in cauliflower. This move is made over the turns from (a) to (c). So if one takes the move as a basic unit of analysis, the stretched turns from (a) to (c) would represent the communicative attempt made by the child. In this case, the exchanges between (a) and (b), and between (b) and (c) of the mother and the child are overlooked, and the "micro" dynamics located in these individual turns are left unexamined.

The concept of move would be most appropriate to study the overall thematic development over the number of turns. But the present study's interest is in examining how the exchanges are managed in **each individual turn**. The emphasis is on the contributions made or roles played by each turn in maintaining the communication.

Turn

What follows then is that a turn should be established as a basic unit of analysis. But as already noted, a turn is likely to be composed of more than one utterance, and problems arise as to how to define a "turn."

In order for a turn to function as a representation of a speaker's communicative attempt, it should contain a unified theme for the listener to respond to If a turn consists of utterances representing different ideas, and this thematically "heterogeneous turn" is taken as the speaker's attempt, the speaker's attempt is wastefully defined, because the utterance or utterances to which the hearer would **not** respond, that is, the "inactive" utterance or utterances, are also included as part of the speaker's attempt. The following is an example of a thematically heterogeneous turn.

C:(a) I'm gonna do this (cleaning toys) later
(b) mom can I have some milk?
M: Sure you can.

The child's turn has two utterances that are thematically distinguishable. The utterance (a) is concerned with his stopping of cleaning toys, and (b) with his desire to have some milk. As the mother responds to the latter utterance, the utterance (a) becomes the inactive utterance. If the child's turn consisting of these two utterances is taken as his/her communicative attempt directed to the mother, the attempt includes the inactive, irrelevant utterance, (a), in it.

Utterance-based-turn

A solution to this dilemma is found in an "utterance-based-turn" concept. An explanation of two new terms, *facing* and *tailing* utterance, is necessary. A facing utterance is presumed to represent the way the hearer responds to the speaker's preceding attempt. When the turn includes thematically homogeneous utterances, the very first appearing utterance represents the rest as a facing utterance. A simple format of facing utterance would be:

C: I don't like cheese.

M: *Then you don't have to eat it.*

A facing utterance from a thematically homogeneous turn will be:

C: I don't like cheese.
M:(a) *You don't like cheese?*
(b) but it's good for you.

Both (a) and (b) are thematically relevant to the child's prior utterance. But by definition, (a) is taken as a facing utterance, representing the entire "active" turn.

A facing utterance from a heterogeneous turn would be:

C: I don't like cheese.
M:(a) We are going to clean up here..
(b) *did you say you don't like cheese?*

Although the mother's utterance (a) is not thematically related to the child's utterance, it is the response which **faced** the child's prior utterance, and thus entitled to be a facing utterance.

On the other hand, a "tailing utterance" is presumed to entail a message directed to the hearer, in accordance with the hearer. Normarlly, the last utterance produced in a turn is taken as a tailing utterance. While the facing utterance concept is designed to represent the way the hearer faces the prior speaker's communicative attempt, the tailing utterance concept is necessary to identify the attempted communication on the part of the speaker.

Reasons for the two conceptual distinctions are compelling. First of all, when one's turn consists of a single utterance, and if it is a responsive utterance, the utterance plays a dual function of facing **and** tailing. Consider the following example.

C: I don't like cheese.
M: *Then you don't have to eat it.*
C: I don't have to eat cauliflower with cheese then?

If one counts on its position as a response to the child's prior utterance, the mother's utterance is a facing utterance. But in a conversational sequence, the mother's response also plays a role of communicative "stimulator," eliciting the child's second turn of utterance. The distinction of the two types of utterance elevates our awareness of this dual function of a responsive utterance in "sequencing" a conversation.

The other reason is more practial. First, consider the following talk.

C: I don't like cheese.
M: (a) Then you don't have eat it.....(b) but it is good for you.
C: But I don't like it.

As previously noted, when one attempts to adopt an utterance as a basic unit of analysis, a problem arises as to whether a mother's turn such as above should be counted as two independent responses or one single responsive event. The introduction of the facing and tailing utterance concepts solves the conflict. First of all, the mother's turn can be seen in terms of its responding role. In this case, the definition of the facing utterance will come to judge which utterance to take. By definition, the first utterance (a) is taken into consideration.

Secondly, the mother's turn can be evaluated in terms of its tailing role for the child's second turn.

Presumably, when one adopts the notion of facing and tailing utterances, the basic unit of analysis is a turn-based either on the facing or on the tailing utterance. The facing-, or tailing-utterance-based turn is neither similar to the conventional concept of turn which does not take into consideration a distinction between inactive and active utterances, nor is it equated to a boundary of utterance which is not entitled to represent the entire turn of communicative thrust of the speaker. They are the responses which are entitled to represent the actual reciprocal exchanges between the participants. The communicative thrusts made by the participants towards their partners are also assumed to be located in these facing and tauiling utterances. They are thereby established as a basic unit of analysis concerning the psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child in a communicative context.

Definition of utterances

The utterance-based-turn unit of analysis still requires a proper definition of an utterance itself. In most previous studies, an utterance has been defined by phonetic cues or pauses. Single words, phrases, or grammatically complete or incomplete sentences have been defined as an utterance if their phonetic pauses are clear enough to announce them as a single utterance contour. This phonetic criterion, however, is not sufficient to stand as a proper criterion for defining an utterance; there is no definite measure as to how long a pause should be to be declared an utterance contour. Furthermore, the phonetic criterion tends to shatter a meaningful sentence contour into a series of stammering speech. Considering the difficulties and problems with the phonetic criterion, in the present study, a second criterion was added: When phonetic cues were not clear, semantic contour stood as the next criterion. The combination of the phonetic and semantic criteria brings about the following as the guideline for definition of an utterance:

[1] When words within a single sentence contour are stuttered with short phonetic pauses, the whole sentence contour scores as a single utterance.

[2] When introductory words or habitual responding words, like *ung, uh,* which were equal to *yeah,* are followed by a main clause, they are combined with the main clause and scored as a single utterance.

[3] Single words, particularly those repeated at the end of a sentence, are also combined with a main clause and scored as a single utterance.

[4] When single words are repeated with lengthy phonetic pauses in between, each occurrence is scored as an independent utterance.

[5] If the phonetic pauses are not decisive, the words are strung together and scored

as a single utterance.

In general, the gist of the phonetic criterion was maintained as much as possible, and at the same time, efforts are made to present the individual speech in a semantically meaningful unit.

Analysis 1: Thematic progress

Analysis 1 examined the cultural differences in the thematic progress of the mothers' facing utterances. The three thematic progress categories developed from study 1 served as the main instrument. The examination was highly explorative in character in that the focus was on the search for the cultural differences and similarities in the psychosocial dynamics underlying the thematic patterns, rather than on the determination of the cultural differences in the thematic patterns per se. The following is a description of this search process.

Cultural differences

Two raters checked the codification process of the sampled utterances from the three types of activities. The levels of agreement of scoring were as follows.

Table 9
The Levels of Scoring Agreement in Analysis 1

	Korean		Canadian	
	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
T.N.R.[1]	670	1162	974	588
Agreement	99%	98%	97%	99%

[1] Total number of utterances reviewed.

The agreement levels were accepted as adequate. The application of the three thematic progress categories to the mothers' **facing** utterances produced the following results.

Table 10
Percentages of the 3 Thematic Progress Categories of Mothers' Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	*Z* score
Positive Progress	2729	68	3665	82	-14.909***
Negative Progress	671	17	602	13	5.1699***
Neutral Progress	630	16	217	5	16.975***
Total	4030		4484		

** $p < .01$

Significant group differences were found in all three categories. While in both groups the majority of the mothers' facing utterances resulted in positive progress (PP) the Canadian mothers produced more PP utterances, and relatively significant portions of the Korean mothers' facing utterances made negative progress (NP) and neutral progress (NuP). It was particularly notable that the most significant group difference was found in the Korean mothers' NuP facing utterances. It was implied that while the Canadian mothers' communication tended to thematically develop over the turns of exchanges, the Korean mothers' communication tended to put the thematic progress on hold.

Upon finding this, the researcher reviewed those positive progress (PP) and neutral progress (NuP) facing utterances in the original video materials in an attempt to understand the interactional impact caused by those utterances in the actual communicative context. Two observations from this review were worthy of mentioning. First, the basic difference of PP and NuP facing utterances lay in whether or not the mothers accepted what was said in the children's preceding utterance. In the PP facing utterance, the mothers basically accepted the children's utterance as a legitimate communicative assertion of independent partners. But in the NuP facing utterance, the mothers, if not totally rejecting, **hesitated** to approve of the children's preceding utterance, and appeared to check with the children in regard to what they had just said.

Secondly, while no common linguistic features were readily noticed among positive progress (PP) facing utterances, there were a few distinctive features shared by most of the neutral progress (NuP) utterances. For instance, most of the NuP utterances appeared to serve no substantial topical functions. They merely reflected what the children said. Furthermore, the communicative reflection always took an interrogative form, appearing to demand that the children confirm what they had just said. Some of these neutral progress (NuP) utterances are:

C: I don't want to eat any more.

M: *You don't?*

C: It's cute.
M: *Is it?*

C: 나 다했어
M: 다했어?

C: 이거.
M: 이거?

Through those specific features of neutral progress (NuP) utterances, the mothers seemed to check the children's own confirmation of their prior turn of communicative participation and put the children's utterance on hold. The essence of NuP utterance lay in this checking procedure. Its deterrence of the thematic progress basically had to do with an insertion of this checking procedure.

What is the nature of this checking procedure? What is it that the mothers intend to check through neutral progress (NuP) utterances? Or does the NuP utterance just appear as if it were to check? Why are the Korean mothers more liable to use this procedure? The study continued with a search for answers to these questions.

Neutral progress: The function

In order to further examine the nature of the checking procedure, it was necessary to identify the basic properties of the neutral progress (NuP) facing utterances that caused the checking procedure. An examination of the NuP facing utterances in both groups revealed that there were 4 types of neutral progress (NuP) utterances.[30] They are:

[1] Nonspecific (NS): simple confirmatory words such as *yeah? Huh?*.

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[30] For details, see Appendix 4.

[2] Exact repetition (ER): Interrogatives repeating the child's utterance exactly.

[3] Partial repetition (PR): Mother's utterance that omits more than one lexical element of the child's preceding utterance.

[4] Complementary (CO): Mother's utterance that expands the child's utterance.

The percentages of the 4 types of neutral progress (NuP) utterances in both groups were as follows.

Table 11
Percentages of the 4 Types of Mothers' Neutral Progress Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Non-specific	173	28	38	20	2.186*
Partial rep.[1]	206	34	69	36	-.507
Exact rep.	156	26	66	35	-2.421*
Complementary	76	12	17	09	1.127
Total	611		190		

* $p < .05$
[1] Repetition.

An important observation emerged from this examination[31] was that the checking neutral progress, NuP, utterances were very much like the "request-for-clarification" (RC) utterances (cf. Cherry, 1979; Corsaro, 1977; Furrow & Lewis, 1987; Gallagher, 1981; Hancher, 1979; Hustler, 1981; Langford, 1981). Like RC's, the checking neutral progress, NuP, utterances were in interrogative forms which appeared to call for clarification, confirmation, or repetition of the children's prior utterance. The 4 types of checking NuP utterances were also found overlapping with the kinds of the RC's distinguished by other researchers (Corsaro, 1977). But in regard to the function of RC utterances, the other researchers emphasized the clarification process, rather than checking process. This disagreement is a point of analysis.

The above researchers have argued that the major function of request-for-clarification, RC, utterances, is to clarify a **misunderstood** utterance, or obscure intention or meanings of an utterance, and to allow the speaker to smoothly continue the communcation.

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[31] Although some group differences were observed, they were not the focus of interest and thus not discussed.

Cherry (1979), for instance, noted that,

> The request for clarification is a conventional device which functions to allow either speaker to bring a misunderstanding in the conversation to the attention of the other (p. 273).

A similar idea was expressed by Gallagher (1981).

> The unsolicited contingent query as a request for clarification serves a major discourse function. It is a means by which one party to a conversation is able to acquire information needed to respond appropriately to a conversational partner (p. 51).

This "repairment" thesis, however, did not seem to be a plausible account for the function of neutral progress, NuP, utterances. Above all, the situations where the NuP utterances were produced did not appear to be the ones in which the mothers had difficulty or trouble understanding the children's utterance. The children's utterance that was followed by the mothers' neutral progress, NuP, utterances was neither unclear in its meaning, nor produced inaudibly. The review of the video material also confirmed that the mothers' production of NuP utterances was not accompanied by their puzzling looks which might have been taken as a sign of troubled communication. An examination of the troubled sequences around the mothers' NuP utterances supported this contention (See Table 12).

Table 12
Percentages of Troubled Communication in Mothers' Neutral Progress (NuP) Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Trouble NuP	44	7	13	7	0
Total NuP	611		190		

In both groups, the percentage of the neutral progress, NuP, utterances involving a troubled communicative situation was negligibly small, implying that in contrast to the other researchers' interpretation, the NuP utterances were not produced in order to repair communicative breakdowns between the mothers and their children.

This discrepant observation between the present researcher and the other researchers prompted a need to focus on the neighboring turns of the mothers' neutral progress, NuP, utterances and to examine the impact of the NuP utterances on the subsequent organization of the communication. The examination required a categorization of the organizational modes that resulted from a production of the mothers' NuP utterances. The following are 6 NuP organizational modes which were formulated from the present researcher's repeated examination of the relationship between NuP utterances and their neighboring utterances.[32]

[1] Redundant (Rd) mode: This is a case where an insertion of a neutral progress, NuP, utterance creates a redundant pair of turns. Consider the following example.

C: (a) I don't like this.
M: (b) *You don't like it?*
C: (c) No, I don't.
M: (d) Then you don't have to eat it.

Here the adjacent pair (b) - (c) is thematically redundant. The child's utterance (a) is audible and intelligible enough. So the mother's neutral progress, NuP, utterance (b) doesn't have any repairment to make, and the (b) - (c) pair doesn't clarify any further meaning leading the mother to the utterance (d). In fact, the mother's utterance (d) could have come out immediately after the child's utterance (a). The middle pair of turns, (b) - (c), has no role to play in leading to the mother's utterance (d). It is simply a redundant portion of the organization caused by the insertion of the NuP utterance (b). Presence of this redundant mode of organization casts doubt as to the conventional interpretation centred upon the repairment thesis.

[2] Transition (Tr) mode: In this, a neutral progress, NuP, utterance is a mere transitional filler placed before the mother's actual response to the child's preceding utterance. An example is:

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[32] For details, see Appendix 5.

C: Mom, I like doing this (rocking chair).
M:(a) *You do?..*
(b) that's good.

It is important to note that the length of the pause between the mother's utterances (a) and (b) is very short, which means the mother's utterance (a) may not be intended to be a social response requesting a response of the child. It is not an utterance directed to the child. It is more likely to be a checking attempt on the part of the mother, with no real intention to hear from the child. The real thematic progress is made in the utterance (b). The utterance (a) is simply a communicative filler prior to the arrival of the relevant response. In any case, the "transition-neutral-progress" utterances are far from being a repair device for clarifying an obscure utterance.

[3] Facilitation (Fa) mode: Sometimes, the child responds to the mother's neutral progress, NuP, utterance by elaborating his prior utterance, instead of simply repeating or confirming it. In this case, the mother's NuP utterance inadvertently results in a thematic elaboration in the child's turn. An example is:

C: I went to Jim's place.
M: *You did?*
C: Yeah..and Tobi was there too.

The child, upon hearing the mother's neutral progress, NuP, utterance, is encouraged to continue with his topic introduced in the first turn. As a result, the mother's NuP utterance facilitates a thematic progress in the child's turn. More importantly, the fact that the child elaborates, instead of repeating or confirming his topic, implies that the child was confident with the clarity of his first utterance and hardly expected the mother's NuP utterance to be a request for clarification. The case seems to be that the child takes the mother's NuP utterance as a "cheering" response to his first utterance and is reinforced to further elaborate his original idea.[33] Seemingly, the "facilitation-neutral-progress" utterance also does not support the repairment thesis.

[4] Confirmation (Cf) mode: Some of mother's neutral progress, NuP, utterances tend to end up with just eliciting the confirmation from the child, and do not make a proper follow-up. An example is:

C: I'm going to build a house.
M: *You are?*
C: (a) Yeah.
M: (no response).

Implicit in the mother's neglect of the child's confirmatory response, (a), is that the mother is not really interested in getting confirmation from the child. If the mother's neutral progress, NuP, utterance was produced with an intention to clarify any misunderstanding of the child's communcation, the child's response to this request should have been appropriately recognized and explicitly incorporated in the subsequent utterances of the mother, which will indicate that the checking procedure is, after all, purposeful. It is evident that such purposefulness is absent in "confirmation-neutral-progress" utterances.

[5] Normal (Nr) mode: If, in contrast to the confirmation mode, the child's confirmation is followed by the mother's appropriate acknowledgement, answer, repetition, further queries, or any other correspondingly relevant utterances, the involved

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[33] Some of these facilitations are, however, rather spontaneous in character, in that they could have occurred any way even if it were not for the mother's neutral progress, NuP, utterances. But since it is practically impossible to distinguish the sequentially facilitated elaboration from an inadvertent one, in the present research, any NuP utterances that are followed by the child's thematic development, such as elaboration or extension of his prior utterance, are regarded as Facilitation.

neutral progress, NuP, utterance is said to be in a normal mode. An example is:

C: (a) This is not what I want.
M: (b) *This?* (yellow paper).
C: (c) No this (blue one).
M: (d) Oh that blue one.

The utterance (b) functions to clarify the child's utterance (a). It makes the child clarify his meaning. And upon receiving this confirmation from the child, the mother proceeds to produce (d). Without this middle pair, (b) - (c), the utterance (d) would not have come out. Thus, a "normal-neutral-progress" utterance **does** contribute to the clarification of the utterances' meaning. It is noted that normal, Nr, mode is the only mode that supports the repairment thesis of neutral progress, NuP, utterances.

[6] Aborted (Ab) mode: Any other sequences that do not fit into one of the preceding modes are noted as aborted mode. Sample utterances are:

C: Yeah it's easy..I just find them
M: *Just find them?*
C: (no response).

C: 이거는?
M: (대답 없음)
C: 이거 만들어야지 (독백)

It appears that, except for normal mode, Nr, wherein a neutral progress, NuP, utterance functions to result in thematic clarification, the rest of the organizational modes do not support the repairment thesis. More importantly, the examination of the organizational modes of the mothers' NuP utterances in both groups demonstrated that most of the mothers' NuP utterances involved the "against-repairment-thesis" organizational modes (See Table 13).

Table 13
Percentages of the 6 Organizational Modes of Mothers' Neutral Progress Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Redundant	228	37	42	22	3.82**
Transition	139	23	49	25	-.852
Facilitation	114	19	55	29	-2.951**
Confirmation	66	11	21	11	0
Normal	37	6	13	0	3.398**
Aborted	27	4	22	12	-4.019**
Total	611		190		

Some cultural differences were observed. The Korean mothers made more redundant mode of neutral progress utterances, whereas the Canadian mothers resulted in more facilitation mode of neutral progress utterances.[34] Here, an attention was focused on the fact that in both groups, the "against-repairment-thesis" modes, that is, redundant, Rd, transition, Tr, facilication, Fa, and confirmation, Cf, modes consisted of the majority of the total organizational modes of neutral progress, NuP, utterances, and the normal, Nr, mode, which was the only "for-repairment-thesis" mode, constituted a very small percentage. It follows that the mothers' NuP utterances rarely involved any clarification organization. They appeared as if they demanded the children to clarify their utterance, but there was nothing obscure to clarify, nor was there any intention on the mothers' part to get any confirmation from the children.

At best, the neutral progress, NuP, utterances were, as initially assumed, a mere checking procedure in which the mothers reminded the children of what they said, or of their own communicative thrust that had been just directed to the mothers. Importantly, this reminding or checking procedure was undertaken without any intention of resulting in a thematic development. As seen in relation to redundant, Rd, transition, Tr, and confirmation, Cf, modes, the neutral progress, NuP, utterances led to redundant organizations which had no thematically contributive role to play. If the function of utterances was defined by their thematic contribution to the continuation of the communication, the NuP utterances were "unnecessary" utterances in that their reminding or checking procedure was a thematically or communicatively non-contributive event.

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[34] Although significant differences were also found in confirmation and normal modes, because of their negligibly small percentages, they were not further discussed.

Why then, are the Korean mothers prone to this thematically non-contributive, or unnecessary communicative procedure? Or why are the Canadian mothers more prone to the thematically progressive communication? The following discussion explores these questions.

Neutral progress: The psychosocial correlates

In discussing the nature of the mother-child communication in part II, the researcher pointed out that the mother-child communication is largely characterized by its construction process of a communicative context, and that this ongoing progress has a lot to do with the mother's disapproving attitude of the child's independent partnership. What was alluded to was that the mother's perception of the child's partnership is a key factor for her varying communicative patterns. The mother's perception issue is taken here as a point of discussion.

There are two presuppositions that an individual is required to hold in order to enter a social interaction. They are 1) the actor's **expectation** or assumption that, upon receiving the social attempt from the actor, the partner will reciprocate the actor's attempt in a special way, and 2) the actor's **ascertainment** that any social attempt made by the partner is also based on the similar expectation of a reciprocal act from the actor (Schutz, 1967). Whether or not the partner actually reciprocates the actor's expectation, or the actor himself/herself behaves according to the presupposed reciprocal expectation of the partner is not the key point. As long as there are such expectations and presumed knowledge, the participants enter the realm of intersubjectivity, and thereby a true sense of communicative interaction begins to occur.

Basically, a mother interacting with a young child has difficulty satisfying these rudimentary conditions of social interaction. The child's self is not yet fully differentiated and is not yet able to function as an independent social entity. The child's elusive self-concept is ubiquitous enough for the mother to discredit the signs of his/her communicative competence. The mother is faced with a partner who does not seem to be able to reciprocate her communicative attempt and presuppose equal reciprocation from the mother. Theoretically, the mother ought not establish an intersubjective context with a child. But in reality the mother does have a "working" intersubjectivity with the child.

Numerous studies (e.g., Schaffer, 1977; Bullowa, 1979) have pointed out that the mother assumes an "adultmorphosized" view of the child and behaves as if the child were a fully developed competent social partner. The child's unintentional gestures or attempts are interpreted as originating with specific communicative intent, and the mother reciprocates these "communicative" gestures. When the child inadvertently exhibits a gesture in time with the mother's communicative attempt, it is regarded as a reciprocal act **toward** the mother. Such construction of intersubjectivity is possible as long as the child's "reciprocity potential" is assumed by the mother. As long as the mother can assume this potential intersubjectivity, the mother-child dyad can maintain the basic reciprocal structure of communication.

Now, suppose the opposite case where a mother cannot hold the adultmorphosized view, and is unable to satisfy the two conditions of social interaction. The mother would become "suspicious" of the child's awareness of the social nature of his/her communicative attempt. When the child initiates a communication, the child's awareness of the "in-order-to" motive behind his/her initiation will be discredited. When the child reciprocates the mother's attempt, the child's recognition of the "in-order-to" motive behind the mother's communication will be disapproved of. As a whole, the **social legitimacy** of the child's communicative attempts will be put into question.

A scrutiny of the communicative context created by neutral progress, NuP, utterances suggested that it was this social legitimacy of the child's utterance that the NuP utterances attempted to check. In other words, NuP utterances were procedures which were triggered by the mother's "hesitating" view of the child's reciprocity potential. The NuP checking procedures had an effect of improving the child's awareness of the social nature of his/her utterances. The effect is generated this way: A mother's NuP utterance mirrors the whole or part of what the child says, and projects it back to the child. Faced with his/her own utterance mirrored, the child comes to perceive his/her own utterance from an "objective" perspective. To have his/her own utterance objectively perceived necessarily involves a perception of himself/herself as an independent interactant who can act upon and with the other and shed influence on another rather than himself/herself. The child's utterance that is reflected back to him/her sharpens the child's awareness of himself/herself as an independent partner engaged in a shared social context.

If the mother was fully convinced of the child's reciprocity potential, she would readily go into the intersubjectivity construction process, rather than undertake such a checking procedure. She would receive what the child said as a social expression of his/her motives, and not be tempted to bring to attention the social legitimacy issue of the child's communicative performance. The mother's utterances will be naturally positive thematic progress, PP, utterances. In contrast, neutral progress, NuP, utterances are indicative of the mother's challenging attitude toward the child's awareness of the social nature of his/her utterances.

Seen in this light, the cultural differences in neutral progress, NuP and positive progress, PP, utterances between the Korean and the Canadian mothers can be interpreted in terms of their cultural differences regarding to the children's psychosocial functioning in a communicative context. While both groups of mothers recognize the imbalanced parnership of their young partner, the Korean mothers seem to be more hesitant about the communicative maturity of the children. Their "hesitating" view of the children's reciprocity potential makes them more cautious in acknowledging the children's social capability of carrying on a reciprocal exchange and executing a social attempt in their own right with the expectation of a reciprocal act. The Korean children are not viewed or are less likely to be viewed as full-fledged independent interactants who can carry out those minimal but essential social responsibilities. Consequently, what the Korean children say encounters much difficulty being accepted as a definitional claim instigating the children's communicative participation.

On the other hand, having an "risking" view of the children's reciprocity potential, the Canadian mothers seem to expect the children to have a premature social awareness and relatively easily assume the social context shared by the intersubjectivity of the children. The mothers are fully ready to accept the children's utterance as the children's contribution to the communicative participation. The Canadian mothers do not feel a need to question the communicative awareness of the social impact embedded in the child's utterances. The children are bestowed with a more or less adult level of partnership and viewed as being equally capable of communicating within the intersubjective boundary of the social world. This confidence in the children's social awareness results in a Canadian mothers' reduced production of neutral progress, NuP utterances.

Summary

An initial form of cultural differences in the mothers' communicative pattern emerged. The Korean mothers tended to insert a checking procedure in their communication and to challenge the social legitimacy of the children's prior attempt, whereas the Canadian mothers tended to readily accept the children's attempt in its own right, and incorporate it in their following turn. The differences were interpreted to be related to how the mothers viewed the children's psychosocial potential to carry a reciprocal exchange. The Korean mothers' neutral thematic progress was hypothesized as being related to their relatively **hesitating** view of the children's reciprocity potential, and the Canadian mothers' positive thematic progress to their **risking** views. The findings can be summarized as follows.

Table 14
Summary of the Results of Analysis 1

	Korean	Canadian
Thematic progress	Neutral(& negative)progress	Positive progress
Psychosocial view	Hesitating view of the child's reciprocity potential	Risking view of the child's reciprocity potential

On the other hand, there were some cultural similarities. In both groups, positive progress category had the highest rate of occurrence.

Focusing on the cultural differences in the mothers' views of the children's psychosocial potential, the researcher proceeded to analysis 2, which aimed to examine a greater variety of communicative patterns caused by the two culture-specific psychosocial views of the mothers'.

Analysis 2: Affecting styles

The objective of analysis 2 was to see how the mothers' communicative affecting styles varied along with their perceptions of the children's psychosocial reality. Affecting styles refer to the way the mothers formulate their communicative attempts directed to the children. They are revealed through both the mothers' facing and tailing utterances. First, an effort was made to determine the communicative affecting styles that corresponded to the mothers' varying assumptions of the children's reciprocity potential. The affecting style categories were to be applied to the two groups of mothers as an attempt to clarify the culture-specific psychosocial views of the mothers.

Affecting styles: The types[35]

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[35] For details, see Appendix 6.

As described in analysis 1, the essence of the child's reciprocity potential consists of two elements: the mother's **expectation** and **ascertainment** of the child's social reciprocity. Let us begin by examining how the mother's affecting styles would vary when the expectation condition is or is not assumed.

Reciprocity-not-expected

That the child's reciprocity is not assumed means that the mother does not expect a reciprocated act from the child to her attempt. She presupposes that her attempt will remain unnoticed and nurture concerns about the child's reciprocity. The mother is prompted to enhance the child's awareness of the thrust of social influence from the mother. Her attention will be focused on bringing the child into the socially shared reality and making him/her realize his/her social position, which demands a reciprocity.

A communicative strategy that will facilitate such an effort on part of the mother will be a Direct Contact (DC) style, such as questioning or demanding. When the mother is employing the DC style, the child is compelled to react to the mother's inititation. When the child is questioned, regardless of whether or not he/she actually complies with this external force, he/she is burdened with an explicit responsibility. The burden is made so explicit that he cannot find a way to ignore it. Review of the video revealed that the child's ignorance of the "burden" imposed by the mother's DC style utterance instantly prompted the mother's demand for a response, which all the more attests to the presence of compulsion in the mother's prior DC style utterance.

The intimate interrelationship between the mother's direct contact, DC, style and its "reciprocity-not-expected" attitude can be more clearly demonstrated as follows. Consider the following cases of talk.

Case 1:
C: (playing with a doll).
M: (a) *Isn't it a pretty looking doll?*
C: Yeah.

Case2:

C: (playing with a doll).

M: (b) *That's a pretty looking doll.*

C: Yeah.

In both cases the semantic content of the mother's utterances is that the doll that the child is playing with is pretty. The intention of the mother's communicative attempt in (a) and (b) is identical, sharing that particular observation in the environment with the child. But the way the mother delivers this communicative attempt is different. The mother's utterance (a) is given in an interrogative form, and (b) in a declarative form. The interrogative form of utterance (a) makes it clear that the mother wants a reciprocated response from the child, whereas the utterance (b) in declarative form only implies such reciprocial motive. The interrogative form of utterance (a) serves as a cue for the child to notice that the utterance is directed to him/her and expects him/her to reciprocate. The same reciprocity expectation is also present in utterance (b), but there is no linguistic cue explicitly notifying such expectation.

A mother can employ such "non-socially-cued" utterances as (b) only when she is convinced of the child's understanding of the reciprocity rule, or at least convinced enough to risk the possibility of being-reciprocated. Without this minimum level of conviction of the child's reciprocity potential, the underlying social motive of the mother's utterances cannot dare to remain unexplicated or "uncued." In contrast, the mother's adoption of "socially-cued" utterances such as the utterance (a) implies the mother's inability to expect the child's reciprocity. The mother does not or cannot assume a reciprocated act from the child, and opts for an "insuring" attitude. The mother's social motive to be reciprocated is made known explicitly by placing the child in an incumbent situation to produce a response. The hypothesis is that such direct contact, DC, style attempts are taken by the mother to guarantee the fulfillment of the child's social responsibility to respond, and thereby to reduce the mother's communicative apprehension of not being replied.

Reciprocity-expected

In the above paragraph, it was said that when the mother assumes the child's reciprocity, she adopts a "risking" attitude. What this means is that the mother exposes her ideas without explicitly goading the child to reciprocate. Included in a risking attitude is the idiosyncratic explication of the mothers' attempt, and that Exposition (EX) of the mothers' utterances is all that is attempted; there is no effort channelled to insure the child's reciprocal attitude to the mother's attempt. Such reciprocity is already presumed to follow.

This exposition effort can be assisted by taking a declarative form. Simple declarative descriptions of the mother's observations, ideas, opinions, or experiences will comprise the exposition, EX, style utterances. But the mother's "reciprocity-expected" attitude cannot be determined only by this linguistic criterion. The essence of the attitude lies in the presence of the mother's expectation of the child's reciprocity. Declarative forms can be used without this sharing intention, such as this:

C: Mom, what time is it? (from the living room)
M: It's 9 (in the kitchen).

The above interaction contains two turns: the child's question and the mother's answer. The mother's answer suffices to complete the session of interaction. Both the mother and the child feel the answer to the question is all that is expected from the interaction. The mother's utterance is not expected to be further reciprocated by the child. Though the mother's utterance is in declarative form, it cannot be determined as an exposition, EX, style, because there is no expectation of reciprocity.

Besides the linguistic criterion, the overall sequential context is another critical criterion in identifying exposition, EX, style utterances. Consider the following.

M:(a) *You don't have enough red in your picture.*
C:(b) *Yes I do.*[34]

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[34] Rising tone.

M:(c) *No..not enough red.*

C:(d) Where?

M:(e) Here (point).

C:(f) *Yes I do have.*

Here (a), (b), (c), and (f) are all exposition, EX, style utterances. Let us first consider (a). The utterance consists of the mother's comment on the child's picture. Though the utterance does not **explicitly** prompt the child to react to the comment, the contextual cue and the prosodic information signify that the mother desires to hear from the child in regard to her comment that there is not enough red in the picture. The child clearly recognizes this hidden communicative call for a response and responds with (b). Interestingly, the child's utterance (b) has the same kind of communicative demand placed on the part of the mother, to react to the child's observation that he had enough red. This communicative demand is created by the prior context where the mother requests the child to express his idea about the mother's comment and hints that his response will be further considered by the mother. The utterance (f) has the same kind of reciprocity expectation of the mother's response. This expectation is generated from the entire context where the child's utterance (f) opposes the mother's prior utterance (e), and the child would like to hear about what the mother thinks about his opposition.

Owing to its context-bound nature, the exposition, EX, style utterance can be easily identified by eliminating the other speaker's turn following the EX style utterance. If the elimination results in a communicative "vacuum," the mother's utterance was likely to be an EX style utterance. For instance, in the above talk, if the child does not respond by (b) to the mother's utterance (a), the mother's utterance (a) would appear to have been ignored by the child. This impression is caused by the presence of the implicit demand in (a) for a response, and this communicative vacuum is the evidence for the utterance (a)'s EX status.

On the other hand, if the absence of the response from the hearer does not create this communicative impression, it is because the utterance does not originally expect to be shared by the hearer. For instance, suppose the child's utterance (f) is followed by the mother's comment (g), *Oh?...O.K.,*[37] which is the mother's concurrence to the child's argument. Even if the child does not further respond to this (g), the mother's utterance does not appear to have been ignored. It is because the mother's utterance (g) does not entail further intention to negotiate with the child, and this message that the exchange of talk is terminated and that it is "o.k." even if she is not further responded to is prosodially signalled to the child.

In sum, the essence of exposition, EX, style utterances lies in the mother's exposition of her own opinions or ideas with a covertly implied expectation of it being shared with the child.

Reciprocity-ascertained[38]

When the mother is assured of the child's awareness of the social impact of his/her utterance, that is, the elicitation of his/her utterance of a reciprocated act from the mother, she would take what the child says as a socially legitimate attempt and fill in her turn by appropriately responding. With no effort spared for the checking procedure challenging the social basis of the child's attempt, the mother will focus on her part of participation. This reciprocating act may take a form of exposition, EX, style, and further continue the communication by expecting the child's reciprocal turn.

Another way to perform the reciprocating act is to acknowledge just the instance of the child's social attempt, but to make no more effort to continue the communication. In this latter Acknowledging (AC) style, the social legitimacy of the child's preceding attempt is basically accepted, but its acceptance is minimally represented, acknowledging only the occurrence of such an attempt. The child knows that the mother has registered his/her attempt, that is, that he/she has managed to get his/her attempt noticed by the mother, but since there is no new idea added by the mother, the child remains without knowledge as to what the mother specifically thinks of his/her attempt. If the child's prior utterance was intended to share the idea with the mother, the AC style utterance would bring an end to this initiation and create a momentary topical vacuum. Consider the following:

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[37] Falling tone.

[38] The idea of "Reciprocity-not-ascertained" was already discussed through the notion of checking procedure of neutral progress, NuP, utterances, thus not included in analysis 2.

C:(a) What is this?
M:(b) A dog.[39]

The mother's answer completes the question session, and inadvertently brings about an interactional completion. Since the prosodic information signals that she is no longer interested in the particular session of interaction, in order for the interaction to be continued, either of the parties should undertake a new communicative initiative. If the child's turn was tailed by the mother's utterance in a specific way, all that he/she has to do to continue the interaction is to appropriately respond to the mother's communicative scaffolding. Since an acknowledging, AC, style utterance does not encourage the child's further response, the child has to initiate a communication on his/her own to continue the interaction. Thus, although an AC style utterance is a minimal sign that the child's reciprocity is not completely denied, it does not give further impctus to the continuation of the communication.

In addition to the direct contact, DC, exposition, EX, acknowledging, AC, styles, there can be a case of No Response (NR). It is a case where the mother does not produce any utterance or response at all. Since a NR style utterance does not have its own concrete property, its function can only be determined in its context. If the child's prior utterance is of DC style, the mother's NR style utterance signifies the mother's communicative neglect. If the child's preceding utterance is of EX style, the mother's NR style utterance can be indicative of the mother's insensitivity to the child's implicit invitation to a shared social world. If the child's prior utterances are of the AC or NR style, and the child shows no more interest in reciprocity, the mother's NR style utterances do not produce any negative impact on the progression of the communication.

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[39] With falling tone signifying the end of her turn.

In sum, there are 3 more communicative styles, direct contact, DC, exposition, EX, and acknowledging, AC, which would represent different perceptions of the child's psychosocial reality, and no response, NR, of which psychosocial correlates are not identifiable at this point. These communicative patterns were applied to the mothers' communicative data of each group. These results are discussed next.

Affecting styles: The cultural differences

The researcher codified the data, and the samples of codification were submitted to a reliability check. The levels of agreement are follows:

Table 15
The Levels of the Scoring Agreement in Analysis 2

	Korean		Canadian	
	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
T.N.R.[1]	670	1162	974	588
Agreement	98%	96%	97%	98%

[1] Total number of utterances reviewed.

The 4 affecting styles were applied to examine the mothers' affecting styles in facing the children's utterances. The initial result is as follows.

Table 16
Percentages of the 4 Facing Affecting Styles of Mothers' Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct contact	2182	54	1669	37	15.736**
Exposition	700	17	1444	32	-15.921**
Acknowledging	1035	26	1078	24	2.133*
No response	113	3	293	7	-8.648**
Total	4030		4484		

Attention was paid to the significant cultural differences in direct contact (DC) and exposition (EX) styles.[40] In both groups, DC was the most frequently observed style of the mothers' facing utterances. Regardless of the cultural backgrounds, the mothers responded to or faced the children's preceding utterance by questioning or commanding. Considering that DC style utterances reflected the mothers' reciprocity-not-expected attitude, the high production of direct contact (DC) style utterances in both groups suggests the general apprehension tendency of the mothers in regard to the children's reciprocity. The Korean mothers' higher proportion of DC style utterances indicates their more entrenched orientation to this attitude. In contrast, the cultural difference in exposition (EX) style utterances signifies the Canadian mothers' stronger tendency toward the reciprocity-expected attitude. Though the Canadian mothers were also more prone to DC than to EX style, when compared with the Korean mothers, they had a stronger orientation to the reciprocity-expected attitude.

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[40] Though the no response, NR, style, too, showed a significant difference, since its proprotions were rather negligibly small in both groups, they were not taken into further consideration. Similarly, the difference in acknowledging style

The Korean mothers' reciprocity-not-expected attitude and the Canadian mothers' reciprocity-expected attitude are, however, yet to be determined. The data in Table 16 represent how the mothers **faced** the children's utterance, but do not show how the mother's tailing efforts were made. When the mothers' turns included more than one utterance, the tailing utterance could be in a different style. So, even if the Korean mothers tended to face the children's utterance with a direct contact (DC) style, there is a possibility of ending their turn with styles other than DC. Likewise, although the Canadian mothers favored the exposition (EX) style, they might tail the children's turn with different styles. An examination of the mothers' tailing utterances of the turns starting with a DC or EX style, however, revealed that such possibilities were unlikely (see Table 17).

Table 17
Percentages of the 4 Tailing Affecting Styles of Mothers' Direct-Contact-Faced Turns

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct contact	2071	95	1534	92	3.773***
Exposition	88	4	121	7	-4.072***
Acknowledging	20	1	11	1	0
No response	3	0	3	0	0
Total	2182		1669		

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[40](cont'd) was also overlooked. Instead, attention was paid to the more profound differences observed in direct contact, DC, and exposition, EX, styles. This partial consideration of results was intended to focus on and highlight the most prominent cultural differences.

In both groups, the mothers' turns starting with a direct contact (DC) style were most likely to end up with a DC style. Being consistent with the finindgs in Table 16, the Korean mothers exceeded the Canadian mothers in DC style tailing of DC-faced turns, whereas the Canadian mothers surpassed the Korean mothers in EX style tailing of DC-faced turns.

The style consistency in facing and tailing attempts was also observed in exposition (EX) style utterances (see Table 18).

Table 18
Percentages of the 4 Tailing Affecting Styles of Mothers' Exposition-Faced Turns

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	122	18	379	26	-4.105***
Exposition	575	82	1058	74	4.077***
Acknowledging	2	0	4	0	0
No Response	1	0	3	0	0
Total	700		1444		

Interestingly, the Korean mothers had a higher percentage of exposition (EX) tailing styles for the EX-faced turns, whereas the Canadian mothers exceeded the Korean mothers in tailing the EX-faced turns with direct contact (DC) style.

Attention was paid to the fact that in both groups, the majority of the mothers' EX facing turns had EX tailing utterances. Combining the results in Tables 16, 17, and 18, it can be suggested that not only in facing the children's prior utterance, but also in tailing the children's following utterances, the Korean mothers' affecting style is characterized by the DC style, and the Canadian mothers' by the EX style. But a conclusion that the Korean mothers are oriented to the reciprocity-not-expected and the Canadian mothers to the reciprocity-expected attitude is inconclusive. The above results indicate the affecting styles only, and do not reveal whether the utterances in each style are thematically relevant ones or not. Although the Korean mothers used more DC style utterances, it is unknown whether those DC style utterances were thematically relevant. Similarly, it is unknown whether or not the Canadian mothers' EX style utterances were thematically progressive ones.

The information on the thematic relevance of the utterances is particularly important for interpreting the exposition (EX) style utterances. In the case of direct contact (DC) style utterances, regardless of whether the utterances are thematically relevant or not, the interrogative form itself reflects the mothers' attempt to directly affect the children. But the argument that EX style utterances represent the reciprocity-expected, or reciprocity-ascertained attitude presupposes that the EX style utterances are thematically relevant. If the Canadian mothers' EX style utterances are not thematically relevant, their orientation to the reciprocity-expected or reciprocity-ascertained attitude is not tenable.

Thus, a further effort was made to examine the thematic progress of the utterances categorized in the 4 affecting styles. The results are:

Table 19
Thematic Progresses of Mothers' 4 Affecting Style Utterances

		Korean		Canadian		
		f	%	f	%	Z score
DC	Positive Progress	1116	51	1271	76	-15.84**
	Negative Progress	449	21	205	12	7.37**
	Neutral Progress	617	28	193	12	12.07**
	Total	2182		1669		
EX	Positive Progress	589	84	1244	86	.321
	Negative Progress	108	15	190	13	1.2553
	Neutal Progress	3	0	10	1	0
	Total	700		1444		
AC	Positive Progress	991	96	1057	98	-1.118
	Negative Progress	34	3	9	1	4.3851**
	Neutral Progress	10	1	12	1	0
	Total	1035		1968		
NR	Positive Progress	33	29	93	32	-.5855
	Negative Progress	80	71	198	68	.5831
	Neutral Progress	0	0	2	2	1.899

Total	113	293

Three observations can be confidently made. First, the Korean mothers' direct contact, DC, style utterances were less likely to be thematically progressive than the Canadian mothers' DC style utterances. Large proportions of the Korean mothers' DC style utterances were either negative progress, NP, or neutral progress, NuP, utterances, whereas the majority of the Canadian mothers' DC style utterances were thematically progressive. Given that DC style utterances are related to the mother's insuring attitude, one can say that in taking an insuring attitude, the Korean mothers tended to disregard what the children's prior utterance or state was, whereas the Canadian mothers managed to incorporate the children's prior condition.

Secondly, in both groups the rate of positive progress, PP, utterances, increased in exposition, EX, and acknowledging, AC, styles. There was no group difference in this correlation. What is implied is that regardless of the cultural backgrounds, the mothers' EX or AC style makes thematically progressive utterances more likely than direct contact, DC, style, the attention to the thematic progress decreasing as they switch to the DC style. The Korean mothers are more prone to this non-progressive tendency of the DC style.

Thirdly, combined with the previous result implying the Canadian mothers' orientation to the exposition, EX, style, their high percentage of positive progress EX style utterances allows us to argue for the Canadian mothers' reciprocity-ascertained, or reciprocity-expected attitude.

What becomes evident through the result of Tables 16, 17, 18 and 19 is that the Korean mothers have a stronger tendency toward a direct contact, DC, style and the Canadian mothers are more oriented to an exposition, EX, style. Such culture-specific communicative styles correspond to the Korean mothers' reciprocity-not-expected attitude, and the Canadian mothers' reciprocity-expected, or reciprocity-ascertained attitude.

But the analysis is still incomplete. All that has been observed and examined thus far is the mothers' general tendency in choosing the affecting styles and the styles' thematic progressiveness. What has not been illustrated is the reciprocal patterns of the affecting styles between the mothers and the children.

Such information is critical in evaluating the above findings. If the Korean mothers' direct contact, DC, style utterances are produced after the children finish their turn with an acknowledging, AC, style utterance, which usually brings about a momentary topical vaccuum, the DC style utterances, even if they are not thematically progressive, can be favorably evaluated for their initiating intent. But if the Korean mothers resort to a DC style when the children try with an exposition, EX, style, the children's intent to carry a reciprocity-ascertained or reciprocity-expected mature dialogic pattern of communication ends up with the mothers' DC attempt. Thus, the true understanding of the nature of the Korean mothers' DC and the Canadian mothers' EX styles requires an examination of the correlational aspect of the mothers' and the children's affecting styles.

First, the mothers' facing styles were examined in relation to the specific style of the children's preceding utterance. The affecting styles of the mothers' utterances when the children's prior utterance was in direct contact, DC, style are as follows.

Table 20
Percentages of the 4 Affecting Styles of Mothers' Utterances When the Children's Prior Utterance is Direct Contact Style

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	319	37	280	27	4.669**
Exposition	131	15	279	27	-6.328**
Acknowledging	374	44	398	38	2.65**
No Response	31	3	89	8	-4.46**
Total	855		1046		

In both groups, the mothers' most predominant style to the children's direct contact, DC, style tailing utterance was acknowledging, AC. When the mothers were asked, requested, or ordered to do something by the children, they tended to take an "economical" attitude and provide only what was being asked or requested, with no further effort to elaborate the topic.[41] The Korean mothers were more prone to this economical attitude.

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[41] Presence of this economical attitude of the mothers puts forth an anti-thesis to the common belief that the mother-child communication is largely characterized by the mother's elaborative, or dialogue-like communicative effort.

On the other hand, significant group differences were observed in direct contact, DC, and exposition, EX, styles. The Korean mothers exceeded the Canadian mothers in their DC style facing utterances, whereas the Canadian mothers exceeded the Korean mothers in their EX style utterances. What is implied is that the Korean mothers were more likely to turn the children's DC attempt back to the children and place them in an answering position, whereas the Canadian mothers faced the children's DC attempt with a dialogic pattern of communication.

The Korean mothers' "direct-contact-based-hesitant" attitude, and the Canadian mothers' "exposition-based-assured" attitude toward the children's reciprocity are again confirmed in the following result.

Table 21
Percentages of the 4 Affecting Styles of Mothers' Utterances When the Children's Prior Utterance is Exposition

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	612	55	481	33	11.194**
Exposition	158	14	525	36	-12.538**
Acknowledging	295	27	321	21	3.539**
No Response	43	4	145	10	-5.804**
Total	1108		1472		

Even when the children finished with an exposition, EX, style utterance and showed an intent to carry an assured dialogic pattern of communication, the Korean mothers continued to resort to the direct contact, DC, style, and did not correspond with an EX style utterances. If not responding with DC, the Korean mothers resorted to acknowledging, AC, style. On the other hand, the Canadian mothers' significantly higher percentage of EX style utterance indicates their higher possibility of EX-based dialogic style to the children's EX attempt. It is also noted that the Canadian mothers were more prone to no response, NR, style, an observation for which interpretation cannot be made immediately.

The Korean mothers' tendency towards direct, DC, style had another interesting effect: DC style made the Korean mothers appear more enthusiastic in initiating a new thematic turn and removing the topical vacuum resulted from the children's acknowdging, AC, tailing utterances (see Table 22).

Table 22
Percentages of the 4 Affecting Styles of Mothers' Utterances When the Children's Prior Utterance is Acknowledging

	Korean		Candian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	765	53	581	43	5.277**
Exposition	343	24	423	31	-4.134**
Acknowledging	301	21	295	22	-.643
No Response	30	2	47	4	-3.217**
Total	1439		1346		

When the children's preceding utterance is acknowledging, AC, style, this means that the mothers are left with a burden of initiating another topic to continue the interaction. The Korean mothers' higher production of direct contact, DC, style utterances indicates their highly motivated attitude to initiate an interaction. Even in this type of situation, the Canadian mothers were more likely to adopt an exposition, EX, style to initiate the momentarily discontinued communication. The Canadian mothers' higher percentage of no response, NR, is also observed, although it was only a very small percentage.

The Korean mothers' dependence on direct contact, DC, and the Canadian mothers' dependence on exposition, EX, style in re-initiating a communication are also evident in the following table.

Table 23
Percentages of the 4 Affecting Styles of Mothers' Utterances When the Children's Prior Utterance is No Response

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	486	77	327	53	8.896**
Exposition	68	11	217	35	-10.099**
Acknowledging	65	10	64	10	0
No Response	9	2	12	2	0
Total	628		620		

Even when the children's prior turn was marked with no utterance, the Korean mothers still relied on direct contact, DC, style, and the Canadian mothers on exposition, EX, style, to prompt the children for active participation.

The cultural differences in EX style utterances were also observed in the proportions of the mothers' EX utterances in the 4 styles of the children's preceding utterances (see Table 24).

Table 24
Percentages of Mothers' Exposition Facing Utterances Across Children's 4 Tailing Styles

	Korean		Canadian		
Ch's style	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	131	19	279	19	0
Exposition	158	23	525	37	-6.524**
Acknowledging	343	49	423	29	9.062**
No Response	68	9	217	15	-3.837**
Total	700		1444		

The Korean mothers produced most of their exposition, EX, style utterances when the children's prior turn finished in an acknowledging, AC, style. The Korean children's EX style utterances had a significantly smaller chance to be faced or responded to by the mothers' EX style utterances. In contrast, the Canadian mothers' EX style utterances were mostly produced when the children's prior utterances were EX style utterances, implying the presence of a "colleagial" pattern of communication in the Canadian dyads.[42] The interpretation on the Canadian mothers' higher percentage of exposition, EX, after the children's no reponse, NR, style, cannot be made immediately.

On the other hand, there were no significant differences in the proportions of the mothers' direct contact, DC, acknowledging, AC, and no response, NR, styles across the child's preceding utterances of 4 styles, which suggests that the functions of those styles were more or less the same in both cultural groups. For example, in both groups, the majority of DC utterances were produced to initiate a new interaction when the ongoing interaction was brought to an end by the children's AC tailing utterances (see Table 25).

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[42] A further description of the colleagial patterns of communication follows.

Table 25
Percentages of Mothers' Direct Contact Facing Utterances Across Children's 4 Styles of Preceding Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
Ch's style[1]	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	319	15	280	17	-1.697
Exposition	612	28	481	29	-.682
Acknowledging	765	35	581	35	0
No Response	486	22	327	19	2.261*
Total	2182		1669		

[1] Children's tailing styles

It seems that the main function of direct contact, DC, in both groups, was to bridge the momentary topical gap and to bring the children back to the interactional context. The Korean mothers' higher percentage of DC in the children's no response, NR, style suggests that the Korean mothers made more use of the DC's initiating function. The same interpretation of communicative universality is applied to the function of acknowledging, AC, style utterances.

Table 26
Percentages of Mothers' Acknowledging Facing Utterances Across Children's 4 Styles of Preceding Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
Ch's styles	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	374	36	398	37	-.477
Exposition	295	29	321	30	-.506
Acknowledging	301	29	295	27	1.021
No Response	65	6	64	6	0
Total	1035		1078		

The majority of the mothers' acknowledging, AC, utterances were produced when the children's prior utterance was of the direct contact, DC, style. It may be that AC utterances are more often used to simply answer the children's question, or satisfy the children's demand at hand.

Another universal feature of the mothers' communication is found in the no response, NR, style (see Table 27).

Table 27
Percentages of Mothers' No Response Style Utterances Across Children's 4 Styles of

Preceding Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
Ch's style	f	%	f	%	Z score
Direct Contact	31	27	89	30	-.594
Exposition	43	38	145	50	-2.173*
Acknowledging	30	27	47	16	2.534*
No Response	9	8	12	4	1.631
Total	113		293		

In both groups, the largest production of mothers' no response, NR, was observed when the children's prior utterance was of the exposition, EX, style. It means that when the children adopt the non-cued social attempt, the children's implicit demand for reciprocity is less likely to be fulfilled. The mothers' hesitating view of the children's expectation of social reciprocity seems to be the reason. The important point is that such a generally unsure attitude towards the children's psychosocial ability is present in both the Korean and the Canadian groups.

Two other observations to note are: 1) Although the Canadian mothers tended to respond with EX style to the child's EX tailing utterance (cf., Table 21), they showed a higher percentage of NR to the child's EX style utterance; 2) The Korean mothers used more NR when the children's prior utterance was acknowledging, AC, style.

By and large, culture-specific communicative patterns of the mothers emerged. The Korean mothers are largely characterized by their enthusiastic effort to insure the children's reciprocity; the Canadian mothers easily assume that the child will reciprocate. The different psychosocial attitudes result in different patterns of communication. The Korean mothers' effort results in the "Leader-Follower" type of communicative pattern wherein the mothers most of the time play the role of leader or initiator, and the children of the follower, the responder. The Canadian mothers' assumption of an equal partnership of the children enables them to regard the children as independent partners and to carry a "Colleagial" type of communication.

On the other hand, regardless of the cultural backgrounds, the mothers have some degree of communicative apprehension for the children's communicative performance, particularly for their observing of the reciprocity principle. Also, unlike the popular belief that the mother-child communication is characterized by its dialogic continuation, the general response of the mothers to the children's communicative initiation in both cultures was executed on the basis of an "economy of communication" principle.

Let us now look at the more specific psychosocial dynamic patterns underlying the Leader-Follower and the Colleagial patterns of communication.

Affecting styles: The psychosocial dynamics

The significance of analysis 2 lies in its illustration of the universal as well as culture-specific features of the mother-child communication. Amidst many others, it has been clearly shown that regardless of the mothers' cultural backgrounds, the mothers basically have apprehension for the children's ability to carry on a reciprocal communication. As argued in Part II, the whole communicative attempts of the mothers are geared to manage the inherently imbalanced partnership. The cultural differences are found in this management style, but not in the presence or the absence of such an imbalanced partnership.

The Korean mothers' "Direct contact-centred-Leader-Follower" pattern versus the Canadian mothers' "Exposition-centred-Colleague" pattern should be discussed within this management framework. The determining factor for a selection of a particular management strategy is, as seen in analysis 1, the degree to which the mothers recognize the children's reciprocity potential. If the mothers have a relatively hesitating view, they are likely to opt for the insuring management which increases the children's awareness of the social context by explicitly giving a task to the children to reciprocate. If the mothers are convinced of the children's psychosocial ability to reciprocate, they call for the children's spontaneous reciprocity.

An interesting phenomenon is that while the latter management results in a more or less "equalized partnership", the former directed management tends to lead to a "specialized partnership." Let us look at the following talk to understand these considerations.

C:(a) This does not move.

M:(b) It is because of the old playdoh stuck in there.

C:(c) I didn't do it.

M:(d) I know you didn't do it purposely, but you did not clean it properly after use.

The talk is equalized in that both the mother and the child participate as a communicative "colleague," with spontaneous reciprocity. Neither the mother nor the child explicitly solicits a reciprocal response from the other. They are both ensured of their partner's reciprocal response, and fulfill their turn by sharing their idea. There is no leader demanding a response, nor follower being pressed to respond.

Suppose the same talk is organized as follows.

C:(a') This does not move.

M:(b') That does not move?

C:(c') Yeah.

M:(d') You know why?

C:(e') Why?

M:(f') Because you did not clean it properly.

If one looks at the communicative role played by the child, he/she notices that it mainly consists in the "filling-in's" of "holes" made by the mother. The child's participation is not spontaneous; it is framed by the mother and it is the main role of the mother to frame and induce the child's participation. In this case, the participatory roles of the mother and the child are specialized. It is the mother who frames the communication, and the child's contribution is to fill in the given frame.

What type of partnership management will be chosen by the mothers is a function of their views of the children's psychosocial potential. But during the course of actual communicative management, a specific dynamic pattern of the psychosocial reality between the mother and the child comes to take place, and the actual management processes are largely governed by these psychosocial dynamics. Let us first examine these dynamics of the specialized partnership management.

In the specialized partnership management, the mother provides the communicative frame. The mother provides a specific task for the child to accomplish. The mother has difficulty leaving the child's psychosocial reality as being independent. The child is viewed as having to be specifically guided and stimulated. As the mother does not acknowledge the autonomous functioning of the child's reality, she "inserts" herself to replace the child for the operation of the child's reality. A result is the mother's communicative participation attuned to the child's incompetent status. The child's participation is largely framed or defined by the mother's "in-charge" status. In other words, the mother comes to be psychosocially present in the child's reality and creates a "relationally attuned" psychosocial dynamic.

In contrast, in the equalized partnership management, the realities of the mother and the child are "individually-attuned." The mother allows the child to be psychosocially differentiated. It is assumed that the child is able to function on his/her own and to observe the reciprocity principle. This differentiation is achieved by placing the mother herself in a differentiated position. For example, she presents her ideas in declarative form, and makes no direct attempt to affect the child. Metaphorically speaking, the mother, as a separate reality from the child, puts forth her communicative attempt in the "shared" common reality, and expects the child to come out of his/her "territory" and register the message. There is no intrusion of the mother's reality into the child's, as in the case of relationally-attuned dynamic. The mother and the child remain in their own individuated reality, and their communicative attunement to one another occurs in the social context constructed on the basis of their assumption of the other partner's reciprocity.

Such concepts of culture-specific psychosocial dynamics are important. They provide a plausible and precise account of the Korean mothers' overall lower percentage of positive progress, PP, utterances (cf. Table 19). Through the relationally-attuned dynamic, the Korean mothers lend themselves for the children's psychosocial functioning. The mothers function for the children. The mothers take the in-charge status. Naturally, the attempts are likely to be taken from the mothers' perspective. The mothers' utterances may semantically concern the children's reality, but they are interpreted from the mothers' perspective. This prevalence of the mothers' perspective is not likely to result in positive progress, PP, utterances, which require an attention to the children's reality.

It is, however, imperative to make it clear that the lack of positive progress, PP, utterances in the Korean mothers is not taken as a sign of their authoritarian perspective. In other words, that the Korean mother-child communication is carried primarily by the mothers' perspective is not to suggest that the Korean mothers **intend** to disregard or ignore the children's perspective. After all, the Korean mothers' specialized communicative pattern originates as an attempt to manage the imbalanced partnership inherent in their communication with the young partners. It is a communicative measure to assist, but not to ignore, the incompetent children, and together construct a socially shared context. The elevation of the Korean mothers' perspective to the in-charge status is a result of their effort to establish such a collaborative communicative context with the young partners.

Summary

The culture-specific psychosocial views and the thematic progressions emerged from analysis 1 were further specified and elaborated.

First, the concepts of psychosocial views were articulated with the concept of psychosocial **attitudes** and psychosocial **dynamics**. The Korean mothers' hesitating view of the children's reciprocity potential was found to lead to the hesitant psychosocial attitude, and eventually result in relationally-attuned psychosocial dynamics between the mothers and the children. The Canadian mothers' risking view was based on assured psychosocial attitude and formulated an individuatedly-attuned psychosocial dynamic.

Secondly, the "neutral progress nature" of the Korean mothers' communication and the "positive progress nature" of the Canadian mothers' communication were articulated with related communicative styles and the partnerships. The Korean mothers adopted more direct contact, DC, style utterances, whereas the Canadian mothers were more prone to exposition, EX, style utterances. The former mothers' DC affecting style, in turn, created a Leader-Follower communicative pattern, and resulted in a specialized partnership. The Canadian mothers' EX style enabled them to lead a Colleagial pattern that is maintained by an equalized partnership. The result is summarized in Table 28.

Table 28
Summary of the Results of Analysis 2

	Korean	Canadian
Affecting styles	Direct Contact	Expostion
Communicative patterns	Leader-Follower	Colleague
Partnership	Specialized	Equalized
Psychosocial attitude	Hesitant	Assured
Psychosocial dynamics	Relationally attuned	Individually attuned

Analysis 3 intended to confirm these culture-specific communicative partnerships and psychosocial dynamics with more comparative data.

Analysis 3: Semantic contents

Semantic content: Its importance

During the scoring of direct contact, DC, style utterances in analysis 2, two interesting observations were made. One was that not only were the two groups of mothers different in the sheer number of DC style utterances produced, they also showed differences in the specific content of the DC style utterances. It appeared that more of the Korean mothers' DC style utterances were concerned with the children. A group difference was also seen in regard to the mothers' concerns about themselves: The Canadian mothers seemed to produce more of the mother-related utterances.

Furthermore, the Korean mothers' direct contact, DC, style questions did not seem to have been produced to obtain information from the children. It appeared that the mothers were not really interested in getting the children's response. Normally, one poses a question to obtain a piece of information he/she has no idea of, as in the following examples.

A: (a) What time is it?

B: Ten after two.

A produces the sentence (a) to **ask** B for the information, the time, of which A has no idea. The purpose of the question (a) is to get that information from B.

The questions raised by the Korean mothers, however, appeared to serve other purposes than obtaining an absent knowledge. An example is:

C: (folding paper).

M:(b) Are you folding the paper?

The mother already knows the answer to her question (b). Her question merely **reads** off the child's behavior and describes to the child what he is doing, requesting him to confirm the mother's observation. While a question like (a) is **informative** in nature, (b) is characterized by its **affective** tone. An affective question speaks for the child by describing what the child does or says in prescriptive manners.

In fact, the modes in which the contents are expressed are no less important in investigating the psychosocial topography. Consider the following talk.

Case 1:

C: (nearing the video equipment)

M: (a) Please come here...don't touch that.

Case 2:

C: (nearing the video equipemnt).

M: (b) You're not going to touch it, are you?

The mother's utterances (a) and (b) are concerned with the child's behavior, and the intentions behind them are more or less the same: inhibiting the child's approaching the equipment. But (a) and (b) imply different psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child. First of all, it is noted that (a) is presented in a controlling mode. The mother impinges upon the child's psychosocial right to put his own reality under his control. The mother's psychosocial reality takes over the child's world and exercises influence for the operation of the child's reality. In (b), on the other hand, the mother reminds the child of what he is doing, and hints to the child to take measures in his own right. So in case 2, the child's psychosocial reality remains approved of for its own functioning. If it were not for the interest in the impacts of the presentational mode, such subtle differences between the (a) and (b) in respect to the hidden psychosocial dynamics would be likely to go unnoticed.

Upon these observations, it was decided to further examine the semantic aspects as well as the presentational modes of the mother's utterances. The first task to be done was a determination of semantic categories and presentational modes.

Semantic contents: Categories and presentational modes

First of all, efforts were made to develop the semantic content categories representing particular areas of the world that the mothers were concerned with. A review of the corpus of data showed that the semantic contents of the mother's communication could be categorized roughly into 4 areas: the child, the mother, the child and the mother, and the outside world.

[1] Child (CHI) area: CHI covers any kind of topics that are related to the child. Any thing about the child, or any attempt to shed some influence on the child belong to this category. CHI utterances cover physical, psychological, behavioral, and social aspects of the child's world.[43] Examples would be:

C: (folding paper).
M: *What are you going to do with it?*

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[43] The other semantic content areas also have these four aspects as sub-domains. For detailed definition, see Appendix 7.

M: *Are you hungry?*

...

M: 많이 컸구나.

Some utterances may involve the child's reality, but not necessarily focus on the child, as below.

C: (cutting paper with a pair of scissors).

M: (a) It may cut your finger ...(b) *be careful*.

The utterance (b) is a child-related, CHI, utterance, but not (a). In a broad sense, (a) is also related to the child. It is about the physical harm that can be caused to the child by the use of scissors. But the utterance itself is **about** the possible danger of the misuse of scissors, and the concern with the child's welfare is only **implied**. By definition, an utterance has to be directly and explicitly concerned with the child's reality to be scored as CHI.

The reason for opting for the rather narrowly defined concept of child category, CHI, is that virtually every utterance the mother produces during the interaction with the child is related to the child in one way or another in that it is directed to the child. If it were not for the directness-based definition, those "spoken-to-the-child" utterances would also have to be included in CHI.

[2] Mother (MOT) area: Mother-related area is the same as child-related, CHI, except that it is concerned with the mother. MOT represents the mother's idea, behavior, plan, experience, or anything related to her psychosocial reality. Examples are:

C: Where did you learn that?

M: *I think I learn that at school.*

C: Why milk?
M: *I don't know about you.... but whenever I have something sweet, I feel like having some milk.*

C: 엄마는?
M: 엄마는 나중에 갈께.

[3] Child and Mother (CAM) area: It refers to utterances about both the mother and the child. The existence of the experiences or situations common to both of the dyad are the key factors.

C: This is a duck.
M: *Yeah we saw ducks in the lake, didn't we?*

M: 엄마랑 같이 만들었잖아.

M: 우리 그 때 같이 산에 갔었지.

[4] World (WOR) area: WOR includes the information about the social or physical environment. Examples are:

C: (trying to get things out).
M: *It won't work; it's stuck.*

C: 왜?
M: 겨울에는 추우니까.

M: 그거는 빨간 색이야.

In addition to the 4 semantic content categories, 4 presentational modes were also determined.[44] One of the major criteria in formulating the presentational modes was the degree of intervention of the mother's reality in the functioning of the child's psychosocial reality.

[1] Control (CON) mode: In CON, the mother's psychosocial reality infringes upon the child's. The mother's reality assumes a power over the child's. Whether or not the mother actually succeeds in presiding over the child's reality is not the point. The essence of the empowering authority of the CON utterance has to do with the mother's **expectation** of the child's succumbing to the mother's ideas. Any utterances produced with this psychosocial topography of "presiding-over-one's-reality," can be claimed as being of CON utterances. Technically speaking, most directives or imperatives belong to this category. Examples are:

C: (putting balls on the disk).
M: *Put the yellow one first and then the blue one.*

C: (공 던지려고)
M: 하지마.

M: 이리 와.

[2] Representation (REP) mode: While the control mode, CON, utterances **thrust** a message to the child, REP utterances just present a message in front of the child, and expect the child to show spontaneous social reaction. REP utterances are intimately related to the exposition, EX, style in that they both require the same

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[44] For details, see Appendix B.

reciprocity-expected or reciprocity-ascertained attitude of the mother. If the mother is not sure of the child's communicative reciprocity, she would not just present or expose the message to the child and expect the child to show spontaneous social reaction to this message. So the employment of representation mode, REP, is indicative of the mother's assumption of the child's autonomous psychosocial reality. Declarative descriptions of ongoing, past or future events or things are the examples.

C: What about this? (putting a jigsaw piece).
M: *No.. that is not the piece..we got to find a piece for the tail.*

C: What is baby shower?
M: *The ladies will get together to prepare gifts for the aunt's baby.*

M: 여기 많이 있다.

[3] Affective (AFF) mode: This mode deals with question form utterances only, but not all questions are eligible. The questions seeking information from the child are excluded. AFF utterances deals with the mother's questions posed to express or describe the psychological, behavioral, or social aspects of the child's reality, and to redirect the **expressed** state of the child's reality to the child, implicitly suggesting to him to confirm with it. So the content being sought by the mother's question is already known to the mother, and practically speaking, the question-answer pair of turns does not affect the mother's understanding of the matter at hand.

The determination of an affective mode, AFF, utterance, however, can be a tricky task. Consider the following two cases of talk.

Case 1
C: (try to take off his shoes).

M: (a) Do you want to take them off?

Case 2

C: (try to take off the shoes).

M: (b) You want to take them off, right?

Both (a) and (b) deal with exactly the same semantic content: the child's behavior of taking off his shoes. But by definition, (a) is **not** an affective mode, AFF, utterance, but (b) is. In the case 1, the mother is asking the child his plan or desire of taking off his shoes, and the mother does not have the knowledge of the information being sought. So the child's answer to the mother's question (a) will serve to provide the mother with the knowledge that is absent in the mother's mind, and enhance the mother's understanding of the situation.

On the other hand, in the case 2, the mother tends to prescribe the child's reality, and (b) is used to redirect this prescribed reality to the child and to make him confirm. The mother does not need an answer from the child to understand the situation as one wherein the child tries to take off his shoes, because she already knows that is what the child is attempting to do. Even if it were not exactly what the child is doing, her definitional claim of the situation is already established independently of what the reality of the child is. Thus (b) is not triggered to get unknown information from the child. Rather, it is a reflection of the mother's attempt to read off the child's psychosocial reality, and make the child confirm her observational claims.

[4] Informative (INF) mode: It deals with utterances that question the child about information of which the mother has no idea. In other words, questions are raised to hear from the child about his idea, feeling, or plans. The mother sincerely intends to know what the child's ideas are. The mother does not have an idea being sought and is ready to hear what the child thinks about.

Yes-no questions, or WH-questions are the examples. But again, even when an utterance meets these formal conditions, if its prosodic or contextual clues tell that the mother is not sincere in asking the question in terms of appreciating the necessity of the answer, it is not regarded as an Informative, INF, utterance. Some of the INF utterances are:

C: (having muffins).
M: *Would you like something to drink?*

C: I don't like this.
M: *Why?*

C: 누나는 언제 와?
M: 이따 저녁 때.

Semantic contents: Cultural differences

The semantic content categories and the presentational modes were applied to each group. First of all, the levels of agreement between the raters for the scoring in analysis 3 is as follows.

Table 29
The Levels of Scoring Agreement of Analysis 3

	Korean		Canadian	
	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
T.N.R.[1]	508	696	606	888
Agreement	96%	97%	98%	98%

[1] Total number of utterances reviewed.

First of all, the two groups were examined with the 4 semantic content categories. The results are:

Table 30
Percentages of the 4 Semantic Categories of Mothers' Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Child	1947	55	2601	48	6.478**
Mother	189	6	891	16	-14.223**
Child-Mother	116	3	334	6	-6.362**
World	1269	36	1633	3	5.935**
Total	3521		5459		

On the whole, the mothers' semantic focus was, in both groups, on child-related, CHI, category. The Korean mothers put more emphasis on this category, whereas the Canadian mothers managed to pay some attention to themselves as well as to the children. Notably, a significant group difference was found in the mother-related, MOT, category.

Examinations of the subareas of the Child, CHI, utterances reveals another distinctive group difference. On the whole, the Korean mothers were concerned with the behavioral aspect of each category more than the Canadian mothers, whereas the Canadian mothers exceeded the Korean mothers in their interest in the psychological aspect (see Table 31).

Table 31
Percentages of the 4 Subareas of Mothers' Child-Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Physical	62	3	64	2	2.033*
Behavioral	1704	88	2112	81	6.356**
Psychological	175	9	408	16	-6.987**
Social	6	0	17	1	-4.704**
Total	1947		2601		

While the behavioral aspect was the most talked about aspect of child-related, CHI, within both groups, the Korean mothers showed a significantly higher percentage of this aspect. An equally notable observation is the Canadian mothers' higher percentage of psychological CHI utterances.

More or less similar findings are observed in Mother, MOT, subcategories (see Table 32).

Table 32
Percentages of the 4 Subareas of Mothers' Mother-Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Physical	6	3	13	2	.95
Behavioral	168	89	654	73	4.685**
Psychological	15	8	223	25	-5.121**
Social	0	0	1	0	0
Total	189		891		

The behavioral aspect is the most popular aspect of the mother-related, MOT, utterance in both groups, but in comparison, the Korean mothers showed a higher percentage, whereas the Canadian mothers showed a consistently higher percentage in the psychological aspect.

No such distinctive group differences were found in child-and-mother related, CAM, category (see Table 33).

Table 33
Percentages of the 4 Subareas of Mothers' Child-And-Mother Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Physcial	1	1	2	1	0
Behavioral	115	99	326	98	.663
Psychological	0	0	4	1	-.989
Social	0	0	2	0	0
Total	116		334		

The Korean mothers' higher percentage was again observed in world, WOR, category (see Table 34).

Table 34
Percentages of the 4 Subareas of Mothers' World-Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Physical	983	77	1322	81	-2.644**
Behavioral	242	19	235	14	3.605**
Psychological	25	3	43	3	0
Social	19	1	33	2	-2.014*

Total	1269	1633

The major findings up to this point are:

[1] In both groups, the most concerned semantic area was the child-related, CHI, area. The Korean mothers tended to put more emphasis on this than the Canadian mothers.

[2] The Canadian mothers express more interest in themselves than the Korean mothers.

[3] While the behavioral aspect was the most focused aspect of the CHI and mother-related, MOT, categories, the Korean mothers exceeded the Canadian mothers in this popular aspect.

[4] The Canadian mothers' concern with the psychological aspect of child-related, CHI, and mother-related, MOT, categories was much stronger than the Korean mothers'.

On the other hand, examination of the presentational modes also revealed some distinctive cultural patterns. First of all, it seemed that most of the Korean mothers' child-related, CHI, utterances were presented in controlling mode, CON (see Table 35).

Table 35
Percentages of the 4 Presentational Modes of Mothers' Child-Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Control	865	44	952	37	4.769**
Representation	412	21	830	32	-8.238**
Affective	320	17	329	12	4.77**
Informative	350	18	490	19	-.86
Total	1947		2601		

In both groups, the majority of child-related, CHI, utterances were expressed in controlling mode, CON, implying the mothers were prone to the controlling mode when dealing with child-related utterances.[45] On the whole, the Korean mothers showed a stronger tendency to CON and affective mode, AFF, and the Canadian mothers' to the representational mode, REP.

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[45] In fact, in both groups, about 93 % of the total controlling mode, CON, utterances were the child related utterances.

On the other hand, the presentational modes of mother-related, MOT, utterances are as follows.

Table 36
Percentages of the 4 Presentational Modes of Mothers' Mother-Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Control	1	0	21	2	-1.768
Representation	124	66	663	74	-2.247*
Affective	39	21	59	7	6.086**
Informative	25	13	148	17	-1.362
Total	189		891		

First, it is noted that in both groups, the mother-related, MOT, utterances were most likely to be in representational mode, REP, with the higher percentage in the Canadian mothers. Significant differences were also found in affective mode, AFF, with the Korean mothers' higher percentage. What was implied was that the possibility for the mothers to present mother-related, MOT, utterances from the children's perspective was much higher in the Korean group, whereas the Canadian mothers were more likely to present mother-related, MOT, utterances in REP. A brief explanation is necessary for this Korean mothers' peculiar "vicarious perspective." Consider a hypothetical situation where a mother wants to tell the child that he/she made a mistake in cutting out the pictures from a book. If the mother presents the message in representational mode, REP, the utterance will be:

M: (a) *Oh I cut his arms..I made a mistake.*

But if the mother uses affective mode, AFF, the same message will be:

M: (b) *Oh didn't I cut his arms?...mom made a mistake, right?*

In (b), the presentation of the content is made in such a way that the message appears as if it were the child's observation. In receiving the message in (a) mode, the child knows that the message is the report of the **mother's** observation. But (b) mode has an effect of making the child come to agree with the mother's confirmation of "his/her" observation. In affective mother-related utterances, the child is **spoken for** about the mother by the mother.

The Korean mothers' tendency to speak for the children through affective mode, AFF, is also confirmed in relation to world-related, WOR, utterances (see Table 37).

Table 37
Percentages of the 4 Presentational Modes of Mothers' World-Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Control	1	0	13	1	-3.857**
Representation	663	52	983	60	-4.315**
Affective	275	22	176	11	8.113**
Informative	330	26	461	28	-1.2
Total	1269		1633		

In both groups, the most frequently used mode for world-related, WOR, utterances was representational mode, REP. Confirming the preceding results, the Korean mothers showed a stronger tendency to words on affective mode, AFF, and the Canadian mothers to REP.

The Canadian mothers' strong tendency to use representational mode, REP, was found in CAM utterances as well (see Table 38).

Table 38
Percentages of the 4 Presentational Modes of Mothers' Child-And-Mother Related Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Control	47	40	37	11	6.906**
Representation	16	14	232	70	-10.447**
Affective	29	25	41	12	3.328**
Informative	24	21	24	7	4.208**
Total	116		334		

The Korean mothers' orientation towards controlling mode, CON, and the Canadian mothers' representational mode, REP, are clearly demonstrated.

Not only did the two groups showed differences in the percentage of representational mode, REP, utterances in each category, they also showed differences in the categorical proportions of the total REP utterances (see Table 39).

Table 39
Categorical Percentages of Mothers' Representational Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Child	412	35	830	31	2.455*
Mother	124	11	663	24	-9.256**
Child-Mother	16	1	232	9	-9.364**
World	625	53	977	36	9.886**
Total	1177		2702		

It seems that both groups of mothers find it facilitative to express world related, WOR, utterances in representational mode, REP. The Korean mothers were particularly susceptible to this facilative effect of WOR utterances. The Canadian mothers, on the other hand, surpassed the Korean mothers in mother-related categories such as mother-related, MOT, or child-and-mother related, CAM; they were more likely to express utterances about themselves in REP, whereas the Korean mothers produced more child-related, CHI, utterances in REP.

On the whole, the Canadian mothers' percentage of REP was higher than the Korean mothers', and the Korean mothers surpassed the Canadian mothers in controlling mode, CON, and affective mode, AFF (see Table 40).

Table 40
Percentages of the 4 Presentational Modes of Mothers' Utterances

	Korean		Canadian		
	f	%	f	%	Z score
Control	916	26	1025	19	7.868**
Representation	1177	34	2702	49	-14.01**
Affective	646	18	612	11	9.331**
Informative	782	22	1120	21	1.132
Total	3521		5459		

Semantic contents: The psychosocial topography

The mother's topical categories represent her interactional focus. Considering the fact that in both groups the child-related, CHI, utterances constituted the majority of the mothers' utterances, one can say that the "watching over the child" attitude is prevalent in both groups. But that the Canadian mothers managed to spare some attention for themselves suggests that the Canadian mothers' watching-over attitude is combined with a "watch me" attitude. While in the Korean dyads only the child party is highlighted, in the Canadian group, both the mothers and the children are mentioned and referred to for their interaction.

Not only are Korean and Canadian mothers different in the categories of their interests, they also differ in the way they present their interests. The Korean children's highlighted reality is a result of the Korean mothers' insertion or submission of their own reality. As reflected in their lack of interest in the children's psychological state, the Korean mothers do not assume the children's reality is fully guarded with their own psychosocial consciousness. It is presumed to be open for the free entry of the mothers' reality, and subject to the mothers' alter-ego functionings. The mothers invite themselves to the children's reality and empower the "yet-to-fully-function" state of the children's reality. The topical focus on the children's reality emerges from such a "fusion" effort of the mothers' reality to the children's reality. In other words, the Korean mothers align themselves to the state or level of the children's reality and speak for the children. The mothers as independent individuals are no longer available. They lend themselves for the operation of the children's reality.

On the other hand, the Canadian mothers are distinguishable from their Korean counterparts in their efforts to detach themselves from the children. While the Canadian mothers, too, are liable to child-related, CHI, utterances and to controlling mode, CON, utterances, compared to the Korean mothers, their emphasis on the mother-related, MOT, category and on representational mode, REP, is much more conspicuous. The Canadian mothers' MOT-REP utterances may topically highlight the mothers themselves and promote the children's perception of the mothers as another independent individual involved in their social context. The psychosocial configuration of the Canadian mothers eventually permits their psychosocial detachment from the children. The mothers as differentiated beings in turn may lead the children to perceive themselves as autonomous beings differentiated from the mothers.

While the Korean mothers' frequent use of the controlling mode, CON utterance represents their directing role over the children's reality, the Canadian mothers' adoption of representational mode, REP, utterances suggests they recognize the social context as being based on the spontaneous reciprocity of the mothers and the children. Instead of working within the children's reality, the Canadian mothers stay in their own reality and invite the children to come out to the shared social context. Placing the message in this socially shared area, the mothers expect the children to come out and register the mothers' messages. Such a topographical system of the Canadian mothers' communication is metaphorically isomorphic with their living arrangement, where the individual activities such as sleeping occur in everybody's own room, and family activities take place in common areas such as the living room.

If the Korean mothers' psychosocial topography is characterized by "fusion state," the Canadian mothers' is characterized by "fission state.' While the Korean mothers merge themselves with the children, the Canadian mothers withdraw themselves from the children's reality, so that the children's reality can remain autonomous. This fission strategy has the same objective as the fussion strategy: establishing a full-fledged partnership of the children. But since the Canadian mothers do recognize the independent boundary of the children's reality, within a dyadic situation, the only way to achieve the task is to draw a separate, differentiated boundary of the mothers themselves. The Korean mothers' hesitant attitude about the children's psychosocial autonomy, in contrast, makes them inject external forces, the mothers themselves, to boost the children's reality.

Summary

The culture specific psychosocial dynamics which emerged from analysis 2 were confirmed and further elaborated in their topographical anatomy.

The examination of the semantic aspects of the mothers' utterances revealed the Korean mothers' higher percentage of child-related utterances and the Canadian mothers' mother-related utterances. Notable group differences were also found in how the messages were presented. The Korean mothers showed higher percentages in the controlling mode, and the Canadian mothers in the representational mode.

The communicative differences were interpreted as reflecting the different psychosocial topography between the mothers and the children. It was hypothesized that in an attempt to assist the children's incompetent communicative state, the Korean mothers insert their influence and result in a psychosocial fusion state in the children. The Canadian mothers opt for the psychosocial fission method and endow the children with psychosocial autonomy. The findings can be summarized in Table 41 below.

Table 41
Summary of the Results of Analysis 3

	Korean	Canadian
Semantic area focused	Child-related	Mother-related
Presentational mode	Controlling & Affective	Representational
Psychosocial topography	Fusion	Fission

D. Summary

The main objective of the present research was to determine the culture-specific psychosocial relations between the mother and the child. Since there were no previous studies that had investigated the psychosocial forces underlying communicative patterns, searches for related communicative patterns became the major task.

The search process started with the thematic progress categories in analysis 1. The results here pointed to the cultural difference in the mothers' psychosocial views of the children's reciprocity potential. Analysis 2 which examined the communicative affecting styles showed thet the mothers had different psychosocial attitudes and dynamics. The final analysis focusing on the semantic aspects revealed the culture-specific psychosocial topography between the mothers and the children. The emerged culture-specific psychosocial relations and their corresponding communicative characteristics are depicted in Table 42.

Table 42
Summary of the Overall Findings

ANALYSIS 1	Thematic Progress K: NuP C: PP	Psychosocial View K: Hesitating C: Risking
ANALYSIS 2	Affecting Styles K: DC C: EX	Psychosocial Attitude K: Insuring C: Ensured
	Communicative Pattern K: Leader-Follower C: Colleague	Psychosocial Dynamic K: Relationally-attuned C: Individually-attuned
	Partnership K: Specialized C: Equalized	
ANALYSIS 3	Semantic Content K: Child-related C: Mother-related	Psychosocial Topography K: Fusion C: Fission
	Presentational Mode K: Control, Affective C: Representational	

Both groups of mothers had one common task to accomplish in their communicative interaction with the children. This was to construct a communicative context with the psychosocially incompetent young partners. Cultural differences were found in their management of this inherent task. The Korean mothers' apprehensive view of the children's psychosocial functioning led them to constantly check, direct, or speak for the children. The result is a "specialized" communicative pattern in which the mothers were interactional leaders and the children followers. The underlying psychosocial relationship of this specialized communicative pattern is relationally-attuned to one another in a fused state.

The Canadian mothers, in contrast, trusted the children's psychosocial autonomy. Their rather risking view of the children's reality enabled them to take the children's utterance as an independent assertion of partners and not to put too much emphasis on insuring the children's reciprocity. Their communicative pattern was more or less "equalized" and the psychosocial realities remained individuated and independent of one another. The Canadian mothers' effort ended up in a fission state of the psychosocial relation between the mothers and the children.

Given that mother-child communication is a socio-cultural system of a given society, the revealed culture-specific communicative patterns and the psychosocial relations must find their correlates in the Korean and Canadian cultures. The following section attempts to contextualize the mother-child communication in their respective cultures and demonstrate the microcosmic natures of the socio-cultural systems.

VI. CONCLUSION

A. Heuristic 1: A Psychosocial Co-construction

According to George Kelly (1955), the founding father of the "psychology of personal constructs," our "psychological business" is not to adapt to the environment or to reduce drives or needs. The primary psychological task that we perform in everyday life consists of our efforts to **make sense** out of our environment. We, as the "scientists" or "psychologists" of our own life cases, are engaged in constant interpretive processes. We construct, test, and modify our views or hypotheses about reality. The sociological interpretive paradigm (Blumer, 1966) of human behavior has also argued for this simple truism that our behavior or psychological performance is guided and directed by our incessant, purposeful enquiries about our environment.

The thesis of "business for making sense" has long been denied in the area of mother-child interaction. The mother's communicative behavior has been conceived of in terms of what it can accomplish, but not in terms of what it is. The mother, the active and purposeful enquirer of her reality, co-constituted by her child, has been reduced to a nursing dispenser or an educational tool, if not eliminated entirely. It has not been recognized that mother-child communication is an encounter between two phenomenological "self-boundaries." Moreover, the idea that mother's major task in a communicative situation with the child is to construct an interactive context with the young partner remains a foreign idea. The mother's psychosocial and procedural endeavors have degenerated into the "background."

This dissertation attempted to uncover what used to be the background by "unbracketing" the **psychosocial and procedural context** of mother-child communication. It has been demonstrated that the mother's construction process of the interpretive framework of the child's psychosocial functioning is the key factor influencing her communicative patterns. Importantly, the "**interpretive scheme at work**" is not what was predetermined at a conventional level. The interpretive scheme that the mother would use in her interaction with the child is in the process of being formulated; the mother makes constant efforts to monitor the young partner's performance and constructs a certain presumptive understanding about the child's psychosocial functioning in the interaction. This constructive attempt of the mother is the reality of her interaction with the child.

It is imperative to note that the significance of this study lies in its development of the three communicative systems which can represent such constructive efforts of the mothers. As a first methodological instrument of its kind, the three communicative systems, Thematic Progress, Affecting Styles, and Semantic Contents, are designed to determine the psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child. The conventional formula rested upon the notion of Mean Length of Utterance deemed to be static in nature. It is concerned with the syntactical sophistication of the individual speakers, but not with the interactional dynamics between the speakers. As a matter of fact, there has been few communicative systems or linguistic notions that capture the interactional dynamics between the psychosocial realities of the speakers. The three communicative systems developed in this study have overcome this predicament in the area and made it possible to locate and depict the interactional dynanamics of communication. Moreover, they put forth a new view that communication is a form of "topographying process" in which the individual's psychosocial realities negotiate and settle in a certain relational map.

This psychosocial thesis of mother-child communication points to a need for refurbishing our current understandings of human communication in general. It seems evident that the major problem with some current theories of human communication is their bifurcated view of speaker, interpreter and actor. The whole interactive dynamic has been insufficiently postulated. It is not within the purview of current theories that communication begins in an encounter between two or more speakers embodied in their own psychosocial realities, and that communication is patterned among the relational dynamics of the individuals' realities.

Consider the image of the speaker portrayed in speech act theory. This speaker is little more than a carrier of symbolic systems. Conversational analysis presents a similar image; that is, the speaker is reduced to an "information processor." Hymes' and Goffman's speaker is, at least, allowed to claim authorship of his/her communicative "theatrical play." But he/she remains a puppet of conventions, rituals and norms. These approaches are variations on the theme of "functional reductionism." Their collective heuristic obscures a communicative imperative: Just as the pedagogical and nursing effects of mother's behavior replace phenomenological boundaries, the various functions that a speaker can perform camouflage the basic task faced by a speaker in a communicative context.

Faced with the reciprocal "self-boundary" of the partner in the communication, the speaker must recognize the presence of the other's reality and act and react according to given psychosocial realities. Social conventions come into play as "strategy structures", aiding the speaker's construction of the psychosocial context. But they are not the "tasks" that the speaker has to accomplish in order to enter into a certain form of social interaction. The basic task to be accomplished is to recognize the partner in a certain psychosocial topography. This psychosocial construction precedes specific communicative attempts. For example, before speaker A understands the performative force of B's utterance, *Could you open the door?*, A must first recognize the thrust of B's phenomenological boundary of self. Otherwise, even if he understood the performative force of the utterance, there would be no guarantee that he/she would open the door.

The psychosocial construction is not simply an individual idiosyncratic process. The ways people deal with and situate others' psychosocial realities are socio-culturally determined. If psychosocial process is an "etic" phenomenon observed across different cultures, how the process manifests itself is an "emic" phenomenon. This result from the present study suggests heuristic possibilities for the interpretation of cultural differences in communicative interaction. The heuristic is referred to as a "co-construction." According to this guide, the essence of cultural differences in people's communicative behavior ought to be found in how people mutually manage psychosocial processes and what psychosocial relationships result from these interactions.

B. Heuristic 2: Socialization Processes

Korea and Canada

Regardless of the mothers' cultural backgrounds, their communication with the children has one unique feature that distinguishes it from the other forms of communication: it is the heterogeneous partnership, the varying levels of the communicative competence of the participants. What is more peculiar than the existence of such an imbalanced partnership itself is the mothers' constant effort to improve this inherently impoverished state of their communication with the children. The mothers' apprehensive view of the children's ability to participate in a reciprocal exchange of speech does not allow the mothers to remain unconcerned about the children's performance. The mothers are constantly prompted to employ "surveillant measures" and guarantee the children's full participation. This "assisting responsibility" is coupled with the mothers' role as independent partner, and makes the mothers' position in communication with the children dualistic in nature. The mothers have to present themselves as both independent partners and communicative assistants.

While this duality afflicts the mothers of both cultural groups, the mothers show differences in the manner in which they manage the roles of communicative assistant and independent partner. According to the findings of the present study, the Korean mothers put more emphasis on being "assistants," whereas the Canadian mothers emphazied being "independent partners." It is important to note that these management style differences are not simple revelations of the mothers' divergent communicative styles. They basically reflect the different socialization processes that the children in different cultures undergo. The children are introduced, through these mothers' communicative management styles, to a specific conceptual framework of how to view a social context.

The Korean mothers' "assistant-management" style introduces the children to a relationally-attuned social relationship. Neither the mothers or the children are recognized as independent individuals. Their interaction distinctly remains as one between the caregivers and the care-receivers. Socialized in this pattern of a psychosocial relationship, the Korean children may come to understand the meaning of social or social context as a composition of many relationally defined selves. The concept of *social* would be understood as necessarily accompanying a certain relational map. The meaning of social reciprocity is also defined in such a way that a fulfillment of one's relationally defined responsibility comes to represent the participant's contribution to the social transaction. If one adopts Goffman's concept of presentation of self, the Korean children can be said to learn that their social face presented in a social context must be pictured with relational properties, but not with individually defined idiosyncratic characters.

On the other hand, the Canadian mothers' "independent-partner-management" style provides the Canadian children with a view of individually-attuned social relationships. Unlike the Korean mothers, a larger portion of the Canadian mothers' social faces consists of their individual properties. Even when situated in a position of the caregiver of the children, the individual portion of their faces remains predominant. The individuated force of the Canadian mothers' face in turn leads to an individuated perspective of the children. Just as the mothers have a stabilized view of their own social faces, the children are also viewed within the mothers' stabilized perception of individuals. The children are dealt with more or less in the same way that the mothers would deal with adult partners. The children are assumed to grow with a sharper awareness of the individual properties of their social faces.

The Canadian mothers' individually attuned psychosocial relationship is not to be misinterpreted as an **individualistic**, self-interested tendency. The basic difference between the Korean mothers' relationally attuned and the Canadian mothers' individually attuned communicative patterns has more to do with the proportion of the contextual and idiosyncratic properties constituting their social faces. In the former type of relationship, the communicative context between the mother and the child is constructed on the basis of their relationally defined roles and positions. Their social faces are re-topographed according to the specific context of the relationship. In the latter, the individual properties of the mother and child take on more weight. They tend to become individuated by their idiosyncratic properties.

Seemingly, the cultural differences in the psychosocial patterns of mother-child communication are found in emic properties. The existence of the necessity of social faces is an etic concept observed in both cultures. But the specific characteristics of the social faces are different and these "content" differences lead to the distinctive cultural patterns of people's social interaction in Korea and Canada.

Toward a socio-cultural model

The search for a new heuristic model of child socialization in the two participating cultural groups has only begun. The study has identified basic conceptual cores that could be used to characterize the communicative patterns of mother-child interaction in Korea and Canada. These patterns are now subject to a verification process. First of all, a large number of mother-child dyads from each cultural group needs to be examined. This quantitative expansion would verify that the proposed socialization patterns were not subject to sampling errors. By taking into consideration social class variables, one could also determine the extent of the cultual identity of the mothers' socialization patterns across a broad range of social classes in each cultural group.

Other attempts would be concerned with expanding the scope of the psychosocial communicative systems. Despite the researcher's effort to focus on the **interactional** dynamics behind the linguistic exchanges of utterances, the three communicative systems based on the notion of MLU are inevitably concerned with the verbally expressed dynamics. The dynamic topographings which might analyse the non-verbal channels are admittedly ignored in the present study. Given the fact that a face-to-face communicative interaction is accompanied by some topographing processes of actional, or spatial forces of the participants, a need for a communicative system that will incorporate the nonverbal exchanges as independent units of communicative interaction is compelling.

A conceptual generalization of the proposed culture-specific communicative patterns also deserves immediate attention. Various forms of other adults' communicative interactions in each cultural group need to be examined. If it proves that they can also be conceptualized by the culture-specific psychosocial patterns proposed by the present study, the findings of the present study can be elevated to the status of the two cultural groups' cultural characteristics. One would also need to assess the interrelationship between people's communicative characteristics and other microcosmic forms of a given culture, such as value, belief, language or ideological systems. It is strongly believed that the Korean mothers' relationally attuned communicative patterns are related to Korean's cultural emphasis on hierarchical relationships and "in-group" tendencies (Lee, Cha, & Hwang, 1984; Oh, 1982); the Canadian mothers' individually attuned patterns are attributed to the Canadian cultural premises valuing the interest and goals of individual persons (Atkinson, 1982; Marchak, 1981).

With further studies concerned with these issues, the argument could be supported that mother-child communication is a microcosmic socio-cultural system that is contextually re-defined to facilitate the young members' socio-cultural development. The result will be an integrated view of child socialization processes, mother-child communication, and given socio-cultural systems.

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APPENDIX 1

University of Alberta
Edmonton
Canada T6G 2G5

Department of Educational Psychology
Faculty of Education
6-102 Education North, Telephone (403) 432-5245

August 10, 1987

To Whom It May Concern:

Re: Ms. Soo-Hyang Choi

This above student is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Educational Psychology here at the University of Alberta. She is currently involved in research for her thesis requiring the videotaping of mother-child interactions in their home environments. The participation is to be voluntary with informed written consent obtained and the provision to not continue at any time be provided to subjects along with a de-briefing of the study results if participants desire. The study meets all ethical guidelines for human research and is important to further our understanding of the role of mother-child interactions with respect to child development.

Sincerely,

R. Mulcahy Ph.D.,
Professor
Dept. of Educational Psychology
University of Alberta

APPENDIX 2

연구 참가 확인서

본인 ____________ 와 본인의 아동 ______________ 는 최수향의 아동 발달에 관한 연구에 아래와 같은 조건하에 참가함을 서약합니다.

1. 참가자의 집에서 15회에 걸친 30분 간의 비디오 촬영이 있읍니다.
2. 비디오 자료는 자료 분석 과정을 거칩니다.
3. 비디오 자료와 참가자에 대한 토의는 모두 익명으로 처리되며 현 연구 목적외의 다른 이유로 사용되지 않습니다.

서명 날인:

날짜:

To whom it may concern:

Re: Research Participation

This is to verify that I, , and my child, , volunteer to participate in Ms. Choi's child development research under the following conditions:

1. The research involves 15 sessions of 30 minute video-tapings in my home environment.
2. The video-materials will be subject to a data analysis.
3. Descriptive discussion of the data and the participants will remain anonymous and be referred to for research purpose only.

Sincerely yours,

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX 3

Transcription abbreviation

IA: inaudible

L: laugh

LAC: look at child

LAM: look at mother

LP: long pause

MN: monologue

NN: nod no

NR: no response

NY: nod yes

SUR: surprise

......: overlap

(   ): non-verbal actions

(word)...(word): length of pause (one dot is equivalent approximately to one second)

/ : repeat

M 참 그리는 거 누가 가르쳐 줬어?

W (NR)

M 응?

W 오징어 로보트

M 오징어 로보트? ... 음 그다음에 또

W (draw)

W 엄마 ㄷ장어 로보트 다 그렸어

M 애? .. 이휴 (XHR.)

W 아니 여기 빛나는 거도

M 빛나는 거 그려야 되

W 됐다

M 야 잘 그렸다 .. 진짜 ㄷ장이 같으다 .. 그치?
(to F) .. 응? (to F) .. 아유 그리고 또 아빠 로보트?

W 아빠 로보트?

M 응

W 아빠 로보트는 ↑

M 응

W (draw)

C: .(trying to touch the microphone).

M: Why don't we leave that?

C: No.

R: I still can hear you.

M: Sue can still hear you (NN).

C: Don't leave it all over (pulling toward him).

M: What if I say I don't want you to do that?

C: Hi can you hear me? (to R).

R: Yes I can.

M: What if i told you to put it down..and that I don't want you to do that?

C: (NR).

C: You talk first.

M: I've been talking all morning with you.

C: No in here (mic).. in that (mic)..talk..so Sue can hear you then.

M: I think Sue can hear me..cause she sitting cross from me.. actually standing acros
from me.

C: Can you hear mommy?

R: Uhm.

M: Come on...sit there.....go back to your chair...I can't fit in that one.

C: (moved to his).

M: Will you?

C: (LP) No (move to his).

C: (talking with R).

M: This is frog Courtney speaking.

C: I'm not a frog.

M: You sounds like a frog.

C: Mama.

M: (NR).

C: Mama.

M: (LP) Yes.

C: (mouth full) Say flowers in here.

M: Well I don't wanna say flowers..I want to eat my breakfast.

C: Talk in here (point the mic).

that

M: I see you don't have to point to go in there...there is a type of microphone you can hear all around the room.... it's not like your microphone of your radio.

APPENDIX 4

THE TYPES OF NuP UTTERANCES

[1] Non-specific (NS): NS-CU are non-specified words such as *Yeah? Huh? Right?*, which signal to the child to repeat what he has just said. Examples are as below.

C: I went to the lake.
M: *Yeah?*

C: 나 빵 먹었어.
M: 응?

Sometimes, NS words can be used to force the child to agree with the mother, as below. This pursuasive NS is not scored as NS. A persuasive NS is as follows.

M: You like it, don't you?
C: (no response)
M: Uh?

C: (대답 없음)
M: 응? 가, 안 가?

[2] Exact repetition (ER): ER-CU repeats the child's utterance exactly. As long as all the lexical elements are present in the repetition, an addition of suffix, change of perspective, omission of the child's name, or transposition of words are overlooked. Examples are as follows.

C: I don't like it.
M: *You don't like it?*

C: 작은 거야.
M: 작은 거?

[3] Partial repetition (PR): PR-CU repeats any word, or phrase of the child's prior utterance. The repeated part of the utterance can be transposed; as long as the original lexical items are maintained, it is regarded as PR. The same rule applied to ER is also effected.

C: Tom didn't come to school today.
M: *He didn't ?*

C: 누나가 더 커.
M: 더 커?

[4] Complementary (CO): Mother redirects the child's utterance to him/her by adding an eclipsed word, making the child's sentence complete. A minor correction of the child's utterance as an effort to figure out the meanings of the child is permitted. But both the correction and addition should be what is contextually related and clearly implied from the context.

M: What did you do yesterday?
C: I made muffins.
M: *You made muffins* yesterday?

M: 언제 왔어?
C: 어제.
M: 어제 왔어?

APPENDIX 5

ORGANIZATIONAL MODES OF NuP Utterances

[1] Redundant mode (Rd): There were two basic criteria. First, the three consecutive utterances after the child's original utterance should all continue to deal with the same topic. In other words, the utterances taking the positions of (b),(c), and (d) in the following example should all be concerned with the topic in utterance (a).

C:(a) I don't like this.
M:(b) You don't like it?
C:(c) No.
M:(d) Then you don't have to eat it.

Secondly, the middle part of the exchange, that is, (b) and (c), should not contribute thematically at all to the production of the mother's second utterance, that is (d). Thirdly, the mother's second utterance (d) should be something that could have been thematically appropriate even if it comes out right after the child's original utterance, (a). Examples are:

C: 나 이거 안 먹어.
M: 안 먹어?
C: 응.
M: 그럼 먹지 마.

[2] Transition mode (Tr): First of all, in order to form a Tr, the mother's turn must entail more than 2 utterances. Secondly, the facing CU utterance in the mother's turn should be followed by an utterance which entails a real thematic response of the mother's to the child's prior utterance. In other words, the mother's thematically progressive response to the child's utterance is prefaced by CU's. Examples are as below.

M: You guys maybe go out and play.

C: No.

M: *No?*...why?

C: 나 잘 할수 있어.

M: 응?... 그럼 잘 하지.

[3] Facilitation mode (Fa): A typical formula of Fa is as follows.

C:(a) (Utterance 1)

M:(b) (CU)

C:(c) (Utterance 1 elaborated).

There are 5 conditions to be met in order for a CU to be marked as Fa. First, the utterance in (c) position should not be simple answers such as *yeah, yes, no,* or other simple confirmatory words. Secondly, (c) should be a thematically related elaboration of (a). Thirdly, (c) can be spontaneous rather than being spurred or inspired by the mother's CU. Even then, as long as it is an elaboration of (a), it is regarded as Fa. Fourthly, the organization should not end up with being Rd. In other words, if the mother's second utterance coming after (c) renders the previously consecutive turns into Rd, the organization is recorded as Rd. Fifthly, even if (c) is not fully elaborated, as long as the child shows an indication of effort to elaborate and develop, the organization is Fa. Examples are as follows.

C: See I made a house.

M: A house?

C: Yeah and I'm going to make more windows.

C: 이것도 내 꺼.

M: 니꺼?
C: 응 저것도.

[4] Normal mode (Nr): If the child shows a confirmatory response, and this confirmation is further appropriately responded to by the mothers' answer, repetition, or query, the organization is marked as Nr. A modal formulation of Nr is as follows.

C:(a) (Utterance 1)
M:(b) (CU)
C:(c) (Confirm utterance 1)
M:(d) (Utterance relevant to (c).

If the child's utterance (c) is an elaboration of utterance (a), and the mother produces an utterance thematically relevant to this elaborated (c), in (d), the organization is regarded as Fa. In Nr, (c) should be a confirmatory or clarifying utterance that is not further thematically developed or extended. Examples are as below.

C: I want pan...(inaudible).
M: You want pan?
C: No..pancake.
M: Oh pancake.

C: 이거는 놔 두고 저거 그릴테야.
M: 이거?
C: 아니 저거, 저 밑에 있는 거.
M: 으응 그거.

[5] Aborted mode (Ab): Any other modes that do not fit into one of the above modes are all grouped as Ab. Examples are as below.

C: I don't have that.
M: You don't?
C: (no reponse).

C: 나도 가.
M: 너도?
C: (독백).

APPENDIX 6

AFFECTING STYLES

[1] Direct Contact style (DC): By using DC, the speaker asks, requests, commands, or directs the listener to be engaged in a certain activity, behavior, or communication. DC affecting style is equal to directive speech acts, which are the attempts to get the hearer to do something. Interrogation, or any forms of requests, commands, or directives, including the illocutionary acts, such as *I want you to* are the examples.

C:(punching holes on the table).
M: *Stop, C!*

M: *Put that in the sink.*

M: 언제 먹었어?

M: 이리 올꺼야?

[2] Exposition style (EX): The most fundamental intention of the speaker using EX is to **share** his/her observation, ideas, opinions, or descriptions of the world with the listener. Without letting the hearer know of this social intention of the speaker, the speaker speaks in expectation for the listener to listen and share with the speaker's utterance. But it is important to note that there is no explicit effort to put the listener into this responding attitude.

Most declarative utterances with some degree of descriptive intentions are EX. But the simple answer of what-is-asked-for only is not regarded as an EX utterance; there has to be more elaborate ideas spontaneously exposed by the speakers. Examples are as below.

C: (looking at something).
M: *No...these are just envelopes*
C: *Mom I want to look at all of them.*
M: *It's just the envelope..they are the same.*

C: *This is my bear.*

M: 이거는 엄마 책.

M: 휴지 저 위에 있다.

[3] Acknowledging style (AC): In AC, the mother fulfills her interactional duty as a responder by providing only what-is-asked-for by the child. And there are no more explicit intentions expressed to further continue the interaction by thematically stimulating the child. Answers to questions are most representative. But if the answers are elaborated with extra ideas of the mother, which are not asked by the child, the elaborate answers are regarded as EX. Simple acknowledgement, or any other forms of utterance that function to acknowledge the occurrence of the child's previous utterance, such as exclamative remarks are all included.

C: Mom how old is Michelle?
M: *She is three and half.*

C: (finishing drawing).
M: *That's good.*

C: 나 이거 다 그렸어.
M: 그래.

C: 이것도 오려?

M: 응.

[4] No response style (NR): NR is when there are no intended communicative acts at all. No response or non-communicative nonverbal behavior is included. Examples are as follows.

C: (drawing a picture).

M: What are you doing?

C: This is....going (to) be...(monologue)

M: I'm asking what you're doing?

C: *(no response)*

C: Mom, come over here.

M: *(no response)*

C: 엄마는?

M: (대답 없음)

C: 이거는 여기에 부어야지.

M: (대답 없음).

APPENDIX 7

SEMANTIC CONTENTS

[1] Child area (CHI):

a. Physical CHI: ph-CHI is concerned with the physical aspects of the child's body. An example is as follows.

M: *Is your bump on your head gone?*

C: (nod yes).

M: *How is your tummy now?*

M: 우진이 키 많이 컸네.

M: 기석이는 엄마 닮았지.

b. Psychological CHI: Ps-CHI is concerned with the child's ideas, feelings, thoughts, needs, or interests.

M: *What do you think about this?*

M: *Do you want to have one more pancake?*

M: 이야기 들으니까 슬퍼?

M: 우진이 생각은 어때?

c. Behavioral CHI: Behavioral CHI refers to utterances concerning the child's behavior.

M: *Don't punch hole on the papers.*

M: *You tying up your shoes?*

M: 그렇지 그쪽으로 오려야지.

M: 누나를 때려?

d. Social CHI: Social CHI refers to the child's social life.

M: *Is Jessica going to your kindergarten too?*

M: *Your auntie Sue will have a baby.*

M: 동규는 데 사촌이지.

M: 재석이도 다 친구야.

[2] Mother's area (MOT):

a. Physical MOT: Same as above, except it is concerned with the mother.

M: *Mommy is not tall.*

M: *I like it hot.*

M: 엄마는 키가 작으니까 그렇지.

M: 엄마 손 지금 더러워.

b. Psychological MOT:

M: *Mommy does not like that*....please don't do it again.

M: *I feel so sorry for you.*

M: 그러면 엄마가 속 상하지.

M: 엄마는 그럴 때가 제일 기쁘더라.

c. Behavioral MOT:

M: *Mommy gets her turn first...because I can do it fast.*

M: *I'll put it in this jar.*

M: 엄마가 먼저 던질께.

M: 엄마가 움직였어.

d. Social MOT:

M: *Auntie Sue is my sister.*

M: *My dad smoke.*

M: 이모는 엄마 언니야.

M: 엄마가 큰 집에 갔었어.

[3] Child and Mother area (CAM): CAM refer to things belonging to the mother and child.

a. Physical CAM:

M: *Don't you remember our eyes were all red on that night?*

M: *You and I have blue eyes.*

M: 가석이랑 엄마랑 모두 벌벌 떨었지?

M: 우진이랑 엄마는 까만 머리지

b. Psychological CAM

M: *Yeah L and I were pretty upset.*

M: *We were so glad to see grandad, weren't we?*

M: 우리 같이 생각해 보자.

M: 그때 우리 재미있었지?

c. Behavioral CAM

M: *We built this house, didn't we?*

M: *We had to move the Christmas tree down to the basement.*

M: 엄마랑 같이 잡자.

M: 엄마랑 같이 만들었지?

d. Social CAM

M: *Is auntie Sue coming to our party too?*

M: *We are all family.*

M: 삼촌도 우리 친척이야.

M: 누나도 같이 놀게 하자.

[4] World area (WOR): REP refers to any animate or inanimate objects in the environment except the mother and child.

a. Physical WOR:

M: *Ice cream makes you cold.*

M: *It is made of cheese.*

M: 나무도 '밥'을 먹어야지.

M: 이 뚜껑은 여기에 맞는 거야.

b. Psychological WOR:

M: *J was pretty upset this morning.. wasn't he?*

M: *He (dog) must be happy to see you.*

M: 누나가 화내면?

M: 아빠가 좋아하시겠지?

c. Behavioral WOR:

M: *Is Bozo (pet) playing outside?*

M: *This transformer walks so fast.*

M: 아빠가 연 만들어. 주신다.

M: 누나가 다시 붙여 놨구나.

d. Social WOR:

M: *Auntie bought this crayon for you, didn't she?*

M: *Jessica is your friend, too.*

M: 기석이 생일에 친척들도 올꺼야.

M: 큰 아버지가 삼촌 형이야.

APPENDIX 8

PRESENTATIONAL MODES

[1] Control mode (CON): Any commands, directives, suggestions, or urging utterances are included.

M: *Yeah put that little head (lego) on top of that head.*

M: *Come over here.*

M: 먹어.

M: 앉아.

[2] Representational mode (REP): Any descriptive or prescriptive statements about the 4 semantic content areas are included. The grammatical mood is propositional, or declarative. REP utterances don't intend to lead to a particular action explicitly, nor do they pose a question to the child. Despite their illocutionary effects, the apparent intention is to report on the various features of the content ares.

M: *This playdoh got stuck.*

C: *See..I don't do anything...and the flower moves.*

M: 이거 여기 있구나.

M: 저 TV 위에 있다.

[3] Affective mode (AFF): The primary goal of an AFF question is not to obtain information from the child. Rather, an AFF utterance reflects the mother's effort to read the child's mind or to speak for the child for what he might feel, think, or see, and redirects the mother's observation to the child.

C: (picking nose).
M: *You want kleenex?*

C: Put on my leg (microphone)
M: Um.
C: So it can show at me...not at you.
M:(no response).
C: Just at me.
M: Uhh..what is it just at you?
C: (no response).
M: *Because you're really an important guy?*

C: (신 신으려고)
M: 신발 신으려고?

C: 이제 나 잘래.
M: 자고 싶어?

[4] Informative mode (INF): INF questions are raised to obtain information of which the speaker has no idea at all.

C: (eating pancake).
M: *Do you want one more pancake or not?*

M: *Do you want me to cut it up in your plate? (hot dog)*

M: 언제 이모, 왔다 갔니?

M: 과자 몇 개 사올려고?